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NOTES

ON THE

UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA,

DURING

A PHRENOLOGICAL VISIT

IN 1838–39–40.

83929

BY

GEORGE COMBE.

VOL. III.

EDINBURGH,
MACLACHLAN, STEWART, & COMPANY:
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MARSHALL, & COMPANY; AND
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ERRATA.

t. means from the top; b. from the bottom.

Page 23 line 19 t. *for* religious *read* irreligious
... 31 ... 8 t. *for* L.40,000 *read* L.14,640 : 7 : 4
... 54 ... 7 b. *after* cicadæ *insert* (catydids)
... 114 ... 11 t. *for* 77 read 83
... 126 ... 7 t. *for* 20 *read* 29
... 212 ... 7 t. *delete* to his memory
... 242 ... 2 b. for P. P. *read* P. M.
... 245 ... 19 t. *for* 0°.15, 0°.20, and 0°.28, *read* —15°. —20°. and —28°.
... 247 ... 2 b. *delete* " this far he stated" and *read* " In this *he far under*stated"
... 317 ... 1 b. *delete* Allan *and read* Jonathan
... 318 ... 10 t. *for* Huzlbut *read* Hurlbut
... 373 ... 12 b. *for* rules *read* rulers
... 377 ... 10 b. *for* members *read* numbers
... 387 ... 16 t. *delete* a
... 414 ... 1 b. *for* fromer *read* former

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

The printed sheets of this volume have been read in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, and I have been favoured with lists of additions and corrections, of which I gladly avail myself.

Page 80 line 20 t. *after* preferment *insert* as a matter of right

Note.—From 1st January 1826 to 31st December 1835, 158 non-commissioned officers were appointed to commissions in the British Army, being about one for every thousand recruits. But " no non-commissioned officer can look forward to obtaining a commission, either of adjutant or quarter-master, *as a right*, from any regulation of the army."—" Such promotion arises entirely from his good conduct, and is given at the recommendation of his commanding-officer, who states his opinion of the ability and fitness of the individual." The promotion is generally to the rank of ensign or cornet; of adjutant with the rank of ensign or cornet; or of quarter-master; and the pay is so small that the individual advanced generally finds himself dependent on the bounty of his brother officers for his equipment in his new condition.—See Report from his Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army; 1836. Evidence of General Lord Hill, p. 319.—Lieutenant Blood's Evidence, p. 256–7.

CHAPTER I.

Cape Cottage—John Quincy Adams and Negro Slavery—Rammohun Roy—The Mosquitoes—Public Affairs—The Firemen—The American Press—Owner's Rights in a Pew—A School for Good Little Boys—Riots at Harrisburg—The Massachusetts Fifteen-Gallon Law—Temperance—Education—De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America"—Libraries in Steam-boats—Maine Loan—Election of Judges—Long Island Pauper Schools—Puseyism in New York—The Church of Scotland and Education—Supply of Ice to Calcutta—New York City Humane and Criminal Institutions—Mercantile Honour in New York—Law as to Challenges—The Commonwealth *v.* Caleb Whitehead, before Judge Todd and Jury, 15th August 1839—A Storm—Captain Marryat's Diary—Aurora Borealis—Sunday—The Amistad Schooner—Dr Sewall the Anti-Phrenologist—Dr Channing and the Edinburgh Review.

1839.

July 18. *Cape Cottage.*—Ever since we left New York, we have been looking for some calm and cool retreat in which to spend the remainder of the summer. We happened to take up a Portland newspaper which contained an advertisement of the accommodations and *agréments* presented by Cape Cottage, situated in the neighbourhood of this town, and they seemed to be so exactly what we wanted, that we have come hither to inspect them. To our great joy, they even exceed the description, and are in every respect to our mind. We have, therefore, engaged apartments here for several weeks.

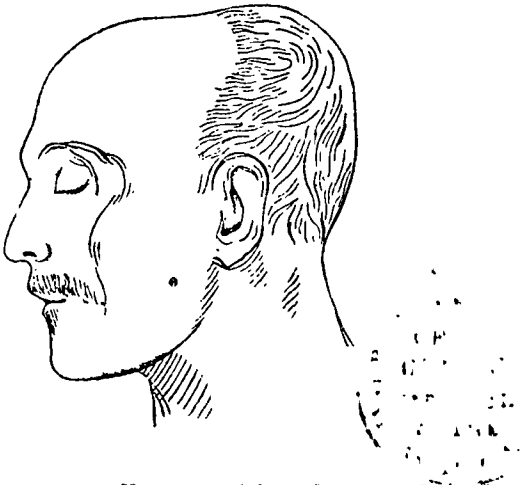
John Quincy Adams and Negro Slavery.—Mr Adams has addressed a Letter to the Anti-Slavery Pe-

titioners, which has been published. He says that "the Declaration of Independence derives all the just power of government from the consent of the governed;" and that as "it is certain that a great majority of the inhabitants of the District of Columbia are utterly averse to the abolition of slavery among them," it follows that "the immediate abolition of slavery by Congress cannot possibly be effected with justice to the inhabitants of the district." At first sight this argument appeared to me to be reasonable, but on a rigid scrutiny, it will be found to contain a fallacy. Mr Adams *assumes* the slaves to be mere chattels, and the white inhabitants of the district alone to be men. The maxim embodied in the Declaration of Independence is just and true, and when it is fairly applied, the conclusion will always harmonize with reason. Thus—no "just power of government" can exist "without the consent of the governed." *Slavery is a form of government.* The slaves have never consented to it: It is therefore unjust, and ought to be abolished. Congress has power to legislate for the inhabitants of the District of Columbia in matters which meet their own approval. The slaves are the inhabitants whose rights are in question, and they consent to immediate emancipation. Therefore, according to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, slavery in the district may lawfully be abolished by Congress.

Rammohun Roy.—This individual presents an interesting object of study to the phrenologist. We possess an authentic cast of his head taken after his

death in England; and it is distinguished from the heads of his countrymen (of whose skulls the Phrenological Society in Edinburgh has upwards of fifty specimens) in the following particulars. It is considerably larger; and the development of the moral and intellectual organs in particular is decidedly superior to that which is presented by any other Hindoo skull in the collection. Causality, and also Benevolence, Firmness, and Conscientiousness, are large and far above their average size in Hindoo heads.*

The accompanying figure is drawn from the cast.



I have unexpectedly met with a clear, condensed, and authentic account of his moral and intellectual qualities, which I now present to the reader.

Rammohun Roy having been assailed in "Travels

* The 40th Number of the Phrenological Journal (vol. viii. p. 577) contains an article "On the life, character, opinions, and cerebral development of Rajah Rammohun Roy."

in South-Eastern Asia, &c., by Howard Malcolm," has been defended by William Adam, formerly Missionary in Bengal, in the Christian Examiner and General Review for July 1839, published in Boston. Mr Adam says that Rammohun Roy " promoted the establishment of the Hindoo College by the wealthy Hindoos of Calcutta, at the suggestion of European gentlemen, by remaining silent and inactive at a time when the prejudice against him ran very high among his countrymen, and when he was assured by his European friends that his interference and support would prove more hurtful than salutary, by alarming the jealousy and calling into activity the bigotry and intolerance of his opponents. He gave valuable suggestions to Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, when the Government Sanscrit College was about to be established. He pointed out the comparative worthlessness of much of what is called Hindoo learning, and the value and importance of the pure and useful science of Europe to his countrymen. Subsequently, he built expensive schoolrooms, and established a school at his own cost, for the more useful branches of native learning, the English language, and its science and literature. The latter department only went into operation. He gave his cordial and zealous support to Mr Duff in the establishment of the institution in Calcutta connected with the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for the promotion of native education. He encouraged a wealthy friend and adherent to establish a large English school on his estate in one of

the interior districts of Bengal, and to place it under the superintendence of the General Assembly's missionaries. To Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India, in the first place, and in the highest sense, must be ascribed the honour of abolishing the practice of Hindoo widows burning themselves on their husbands' funeral piles; but next to him it belongs to Rammohun Roy. Previous to the act of abolition, from 300 to 400 widows were burned annually. Long before this period Rammohun Roy had endeavoured to awaken the attention of Government and of the European community to the monstrous evil. He wrote pamphlets in English and Bengalee proving that it was not an essential doctrine of the Hindoo religion. He also exposed the modern abuses of the rite, the application of stupifying drugs and force to prevent them from escaping from the pile. With little aid from others, amid many discouragements, he pursued his course, and lived to see the prohibition enacted as a law.

"Born a Hindoo of the Hindoos, as Paul was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, he had every inducement to acquiesce in the system of religion which, by divine right, gave him so distinguished and privileged a place; but in early life he freed himself from the shackles of idolatry, and opened his mind to the grand and elevating idea of the Universal Father, which he retained with firm conviction to his latest breath. Nor was this a barren conviction. His mind expanded in benevolence towards all his brethren of mankind, and his life was spent in their

service. With an original capacity for metaphysical reasoning, refined and strengthened by cultivation in the school of Hindoo logic, he employed his profound and various learning to attack the complicated system of Hindoo idolatry, which, in Calcutta, we consider that he chiefly has contributed to shake to its foundations, although the time is probably yet far distant when it will wholly disappear from even a single city of India. In this controversy even Christian missionaries have been glad to avail themselves of the resources brought into use by his acute mind, and to borrow arrows from his quiver without acknowledgment. He laboured, as we have shewn, in the cause of education. He laboured to protect the rights, and to save the lives of Hindoo widows. He took a deep interest in every political movement throughout the civilized world favourable to civil and political liberty. He laboured in conversation, and by writing, through the medium of the press, and by evidence given before parliamentary committees during his residence in England, to give a right direction to the measures then in progress for the future government of British India. In his whole career we see the good as well as the great man, the patriot and philanthropist as well as the philosopher; and the effect of such a career, and of such an example, is not to be measured in the narrow spirit of sectarianism, inspired by those who opposed and counteracted him in life, and who now, since the grave has closed over him, would depreciate and misrepresent his labours." P. 400.

The Mosquitoes.—I am now blind in one eye, and lame in both feet, from mosquito bites. We rise at five o'clock in the morning, and see the sun ascend in beautiful majesty from the Atlantic Ocean, which is spread beneath our windows. We breakfast at seven, dine at one, drink tea at six, and go to bed at nine o'clock. My time is spent in preparing the MS. of my lectures on Moral Philosophy for the press, in reading, and in maintaining correspondence with my friends in Europe and the United States. But for the mosquitoes, this place would be a paradise of beauty and delight.

July 29. Ther. 66°. *Public Affairs.*—The remarks made on 25th May, see vol. ii. p. 298, are already verified. The Great Western has arrived from England, and brings the following intelligence. The drain on the Bank of England for gold to pay for grain imported from the Continent of Europe has proceeded steadily for several months, until, at last, the Bank, in order to contract its circulation and recall the specie, has raised the rate of interest on bills discounted to 5½ per cent. This has led to a contraction of discounts by the country banks in England. Commerce and manufactures are embarrassed, and the prices of commodities are rapidly falling. From this, and other causes, the demand for cotton has greatly decreased, and the prices have given way. The fall in this article not only gives a severe blow to the American cotton speculators, but is seriously affecting the interests of the whole Union. The very large quantity of goods lately im-

ported from Europe into the United States must be paid for by means of sales, in the French and English markets, of cotton, flour, or public securities. Flour has become depressed in consequence of the expectation at present entertained of a good crop in England; cotton also has decreased in value; and American securities have become unsaleable in consequence of the great scarcity of money in Britain, and the embarrassments which are anticipated to ensue from these combined causes. The rate of exchange is turning rapidly against the United States, which increases the amount of their debts to England; and a general crisis is expected.

The Firemen.—"The Pennsylvanian" of 22d June contains a letter from "A Father," pointing out, in forcible terms, the great evils occasioned to the morals and habits of young men by the "infatuation of fire engines." He says that all his apprentices who did not join fire companies did well in business; but that those who did join them, to the number of thirty-one, generally became unsteady and went to ruin.

The American Press.—The New York Evening Post, speaking of the personalities which not unfrequently disgrace the columns of the American press, remarks: "The Philadelphia newspaper press is certainly superior to ours in the general decency with which it is conducted, and we have no doubt that the general reputation of its conductors is proportionably higher in the community." In so far as my means of observation extend, I fully concur in the remarks of the Evening Post. The press of Philadelphia, in its

editorial articles, appeared to me to stand in a creditable position in regard equally to morals, knowledge, and literary attainments.

The Owner's Rights in a Pew.—I have already, in vol. ii. p. 276, mentioned, that when an American church is built, the pews are generally sold by public auction, and that each purchaser becomes absolute proprietor of his pew. Several questions have been tried in the courts of law regarding the nature of the right acquired by the purchaser. It has been decided, that a pew is *real estate*, and is governed by the laws relating to that species of property. The control of it does not lie with a majority of the pew-holders. They can determine as to the management of the building, and impose assessments, in certain cases, for keeping it in repair; but they cannot prescribe to the owner the manner in which he shall use his pew. A proprietor in a church became dissatisfied with the minister, boarded over his pew, and threatened, if the minister did not resign, to keep pigs in it. He was rich and self-willed, and would have executed his threat. The minister resigned. The remedy would have been found in an action for abatement of nuisance, at the instance of the conterminous proprietors. Another pew-owner in the most fashionable part of a church was offended with his neighbours, and let his pew to a family of negroes, on condition that they should possess it. They did so, and the other proprietors, finding there was no remedy for this in law, bought up his right at a very high price. The Boston Times reports the follow-

ing case, which has recently occurred :—" On the 4th of July last, Mr James Jackson of Middleboro' nailed up his pew in church at that place, and covered it over with boards, painted over with red ochre, in order, as he said, to prevent its being used for the dissemination of Locofocoism, by Mr Hallett, then editor of the Boston Advocate. Some of the town's people broke into the pew and used it, in consequence of which the owner sued the trespassers, and recovered nominal damages of one cent, he having expressly stated, that he desired nothing more than a verdict to establish his right of property." A general law should be enacted to restrain the right of property in pews within the limits of decency and common sense.

A School for Good Little Boys.—The following advertisement struck me as curious, from the contrast which it presents to the treatment of children in Scotland forty years ago. When I entered the High School of Edinburgh, the worthy preceptor, Mr Luke Fraser, could scarcely be said to teach. He prescribed to us lessons to be learned, and if we did not repeat them, he flogged us heartily. Such an essential element did the flogging constitute in our education, that when the pupils of the High School of those days meet, they still ask each other, under what teacher did you "*suffer?*" It is refreshing to see so vast an improvement in the treatment of youth as this advertisement bespeaks:—

" *Juvenile Boarding School.*—For small boys, at the six-mile-stone, Bloomingdale (9th Street), New York. It is located on

Dr V. Mott's beautiful mansion-grounds, with extensive privileges. There is a bathing-room in the house; or the boys can bathe in the river, and be taught to swim by a competent person. The premises furnish an abundance of the finest fruits, cherries, currants, raspberries, strawberries, gooseberries, apples, pears, &c. In addition, the boys are furnished with a fine stock of rabbits, Guinea pigs, pigeons, turtles, hens, &c. The best instruction is provided; and the maternal superintendence is not surpassed. The house having been found too small, a handsome addition and many improvements have just been made, in order to accommodate a few more boys."

Riots at Harrisburg.—In vol. i. p. 284 I gave an account of the riots at Harrisburg in December 1838. An investigation by a committee of the Legislature of Pennsylvania into the causes of that disturbance has since taken place, and the report has been published. Charles Houston, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, has sworn, that, before the riots, he received a letter from a person who, he believes, is a whig or antimason, soliciting his opinion on fifteen propositions, one of which was, "If objections were made to the election of the governor, who would be governor, and how long the dispute could be made to continue? and whether objections could not be made by one county after another, and thus be made to last the whole three years? I think this was subdivided into seven different shapes. There were other questions in relation to the new constitution which I cannot now remember: one question was, what condition Pennsylvania would be in during the contest, whether she would be under the old or the new constitution? I wrote to him, that a portion of his questions were such as I was very sorry that any person

for whom I have had any respect, or who wished me to have any respect for him, should put; and that no person who had any regard for law or order, ever should put any such questions. His other questions related to matters that might arise under the new constitution, and I therefore declined answering them. I understood the letter to mean a teasing opposition to the inauguration of Governor Porter, and the proclamation made of the new constitution."—This letter (which the judge had burned after reading it) may have been the act of only one individual, and his party may not be answerable for it; but the friends of free institutions must deeply lament the existence of such principles of action in Pennsylvania. Every perversion of the law, and every fraud committed on it, in a country where the people have full power to remove all grievances by constitutional means, is high treason against the State. In countries where the laws are enacted by one class, and brought to operate injuriously on another, legal chicanery in self-defence may meet with some apology; but in the United States it is utterly indefensible. The extensive prevalence of such a spirit as that which actuated the writer of the letter in question, would undoubtedly introduce a despotism of armed force.

The Massachusetts Fifteen-Gallon Law.—A regular legal opposition to this law is proceeding in the courts at Boston. The rum-dealers continue openly to retail rum in small quantities in defiance of the statute; they are prosecuted by the attorney-gene-

ral before the municipal court, and fined; they refuse to pay, and are committed to prison amidst large assemblages of people, and breaches of the peace are dreaded. After the condemnation of George C. Jacobs to pay a fine of $10 and costs, he was allowed to go at large on a bond for his reappearance on a future day, and the mob moved towards the store of a gentleman who had, on a previous occasion, acted as complainant and witness against a rum-seller, with the obvious design of destroying his property.

"But the mayor, the marshal, and the sheriff were on the spot, and exerted themselves to preserve order. Many active police-officers mingled among the crowd, and when a person was particularly disorderly, he was seized and conveyed to the watch-house. A number of disorderly persons were thus taken away, which had the effect of preventing the ebullition of passion which many anticipated. There was, however, a good deal of noise, cheers, and hurras, and it was obvious that nothing but the presence of a strong civil force, and the knowledge that the military would appear immediately if called upon, prevented scenes of riot."—*Mercantile Journal.*

Temperance.—The late report of the New York City Temperance Society states that the number of licensed liquor shops in that city in 1828 was 3162; in 1838, with a much increased population, 2507.

There were in the State of New York alone, in 1825, 1129 distilleries; the number is now reduced to about 200. In 1837, there were in operation in the city of New York and vicinity 17 large grain distilleries; now there are but nine. In 1837,

32,680,000, 27-100 gallons of first proof domestic spirits were inspected in this city; and in 1838, 18,049,000, 100-88 gallons, being 14,633,000 gallons less the last than in the preceding year, or a falling off of more than 33 per cent., and greater than double the decrease of any previous year.

In the importations of distilled liquor into the port of New York the last year, there was also a decrease of 25 per cent. And it is worthy of notice, that, according to the latest returns of the Secretary of the Treasury, in 1837, there was a decrease of 1,285,084 gallons of wine, as compared with the importations of 1836.—*June* 1839.

Education.—The American newspapers report that the House of Commons lately passed, by a majority of two, a grant of L.30,000 for the purposes of education, but that the Lords threw out the measure; and that the bishops and peers waited on the Queen, and presented an address remonstrating against the appropriation of some other moneys granted for educational purposes, because it was to be bestowed by the Privy Council for the benefit of all sects. It is further mentioned that, in the month of June last, Lord John Russell, in his place in the House of Commons, announced "that Government had abandoned the plan of National Education which it had intended to introduce (normal schools). So much clamour had been raised against it, and such great and persevering efforts had been made to excite an adverse feeling to it throughout the country, that it would be unadvisable to proceed farther with it." In the course of my travels in the United States, and also in letters, I have frequently been asked what this means. To the Americans it appears altogether incomprehensible. I cannot at present explain it.

Aug. 5. Ther. 61°. *De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America."*—Before leaving Scotland I had perused this work with much interest and instruction, and I have now completed a second reading of the American edition, with notes by John C. Spencer, Esq., Secretary of State for New York, appended to it in correction and elucidation of the text. After having lived nearly a year under the institutions of which it treats, I perceive its merits still more clearly than before. I have heard lawyers, politicians, philosophers, and intelligent men of every class, commend this work as the most correct and profound that has been written by any foreigner on the United States, and in this opinion I fully concur. M. De Tocqueville's powers of observation are admirable; his accuracy is astonishing (for Mr Spencer's notes do not convict him of any fundamental errors affecting the general value of the work); his talent for analysis is great; while his depth and comprehensiveness place him in the first class of philosophical thinkers. Add to these great qualities an inflexible honesty that turns neither to the right hand nor to the left, and that never slumbers, but presides equally over his statements of fact, his estimates of manners, and his logical deductions. He certainly has no equal among the authors who have written on the United States. Those who desire to understand the theory and practice of the American institutions, and even the existing manners, need go to no other source. The only point in which I perceive a deficiency is a want of a philosophy of mind that might have enabled

him to penetrate more clearly into the future. In the United States a vast moral experiment is in progress. He perceives its magnitude and importance, and the embarrassments with which it is beset; but he does not equally well appreciate the relation in which the phenomena stand to the human faculties, or divine their ultimate effect on American civilization. The reader rises from the perusal of his work embarrassed by fears and doubts. It appears to me that phrenology enables us to dispel much darkness from the horizon, and to view the future progress of the United States in a more favourable light than that in which it is regarded in his pages.

He censures American manners and institutions with nearly as much severity as many English writers whose works have been heartily abused by the American press, yet his book is spoken of with uniform respect. Two reasons may be assigned for this difference of treatment. First, His candour disarms resentment. Every honest mind perceives that he is actuated by the love of truth alone, and that, if facts be disagreeable, he is not answerable for their effects. Secondly, His work is philosophical, and is not generally read by the American people. It is not necessary, therefore, for the press to abuse it in order to gratify the public taste.

Captain Marryat's "Diary" has just appeared, and the American newspapers are busy abusing him: Mrs Trollope, Captain Hamilton, Captain Basil Hall, Mrs Butler, and Miss Martineau, all come in for a fresh vituperation. The Portland Advertiser,

however, praises De Tocqueville, and blames the Americans for not reading his work. It strikes me that many of the provincial American newspapers abuse Captain Marryat without having even seen his work. The New York newspapers quoted it on its first appearance in that city, and poured forth torrents of invective against it. As soon as these papers reached the distant States, the press of every hamlet produced an original criticism of the work, condemning it without measure, and without mercy. From what I have learned regarding the slow circulation of books into distant parts, I am led strongly to suspect that in many instances these discourses were founded solely on the New York texts and materials; and that the principle is boldly acted on that it is a safe rule to condemn every work which speaks disparagingly of the United States, without inquiring very minutely into either its merits or details.

Libraries in Steam-boats.—Almost every English and Scotch, and probably Irish steam-boat, has a library for the use of the passengers, free. I have never seen a library at all in an American steam-boat except in the "Whitehall" on Lake Champlain, and the terms of reading were a deposit of $2, and payment of 12½ cents for the use of each volume. I saw nobody using the library on these terms.

Aug. 13. Ther. 61°. *Maine Loan.*—I mentioned in vol. ii. p. 274, that the Legislature of Maine had voted $800,000 to defend the disputed territory against England, and that the Treasurer of the State

had applied in New York for the money without success. He is now advertising for loans on State bonds for $1000 (L.200 Sterling), bearing interest at six per cent., and redeemable in four, six, or eight years, in the option of the lender. He mentions several banks where his bonds may be obtained. There seems no great risk of Maine raising a large army when her finances are so circumscribed. It is probably a fortunate circumstance for this young, but prosperous and rising State, that the commercial difficulties of the present crisis have prevented her from engulfing herself in debt. Her efforts never could have settled the Boundary question, and she is wise to entrust her interests to the government of the United States.

Election of Judges.—In March 1839, a resolution passed both Houses of the Legislature of Maine, by a vote of two-thirds of the members, agreeing to an amendment of the constitution. The amendment proposed is,

"That all judicial officers, now in office, or who may hereafter be appointed, shall, from and after the first day of March, in the year eighteen hundred and forty, hold their offices for the term of seven years from the time of their respective appointments (unless sooner removed by impeachment, or by address of both branches of the Legislature to the Executive) and no longer, unless appointed thereto.

"Resolved, That the inhabitants of said towns, plantations, and cities shall vote by ballot upon said questions; those in favour of said amendment expressing by the word *Yes*, upon their ballots, and those opposed to the amendment expressing it by the word *No*, upon their ballots."

The newspapers contain official notices to the

voters to declare their opinions on the point on the second Monday in September.*

Long Island Pauper Schools.—In vol. i. p. 224, I adverted to the defective accommodation provided for the pauper children in the Long Island schools. It is gratifying to perceive the promptitude with which evils are remedied in the United States. I perceive that on 17th August, the Grand Jury for the city of New York, among other matters demanding improvement, called attention to these schools.

"The 'nurseries' at the Long Island farm contain 516 boys, 172 girls, 12 men, and 76 women—total 776. The buildings at the farm are deemed, by the grand inquest, both insufficient and unsuitable to accommodate the large number of children collected there.

"They would recommend that suitable fire-proof buildings be erected on Randall's Island (belonging to the corporation) when practicable, and that this establishment be removed there.

"They regret that cases of ophthalmia still exist among the children, and would recommend that an entire separation, in a distinct building, and at a proper distance, should take place of the persons afflicted with this disease, and that prompt measures be taken to eradicate it if possible. They believe that motives of humanity toward the children and those connected with the establishment as physicians and nurses, as well as economy, call for this arrangement."

August 15. Ther. 55°. *Puseyism in New York.*—The New York Review is the organ of the Episcopalians of that city, and it follows closely in the footsteps of the Church of England. The 19th Number contains a long and elaborate defence of the Oxford "Tracts for the Times," "On Baptism," "The

* The amendment was adopted by the people, and the Judges are now elected only for seven years.

Holy Communion," "Who has authority to administer the Sacraments?" "The kind of prayers that may be offered for the dead," and "The authority of tradition as a guide in religious faith and practice." The reviewer defends the tracts in all points except with regard to prayers for the dead. The perusal of this disquisition is like reading a collection of treatises of the middle ages, written by the schoolmen. The views which it defends are sadly out of place in the United States. The Review itself is fruitlessly labouring to introduce into America the sentiments and ideas which the progress of knowledge is expelling from Great Britain.

In an article in the same number on Thomas Carlyle's History of the French Revolution (which it commends), the reviewer observes, that "we see among all (Americans) of every political creed, and every religious faith, a disposition to bring the universe of thought, sentiment, and feeling to the touchstone of the understanding. We are sadly afraid of mysteries." * * * "The higher powers shrink and wither in the shallow soil of man's wisdom and the philosophy of the understanding." "The land in which the mass rules is not the free land; that is the home of freedom where the truth rules."† * * * "The French

† This obviously means,—where the theological opinions of the reviewer rule. The remarks in the text remind me of an argument stated by one of the Established clergymen of Glasgow, at a church extension meeting. It was the duty, he said, of the civil magistrate to endow the true religion. "It is asked, how is he to know which is the true religion? I answer, *we* are the teachers of the truth." The

Revolution wrote upon our earth in letters of blood and fire, that as it is with the individual, so is it with the nation; that to trust in the wisdom of man, to rely upon the understanding of man, to leave the mysterious and cling to the intelligible only, to give up faith and confide in sight only, to substitute the love of happiness for the sense of duty, and the equality of the whole for the Christian brotherhood of the whole,—is to take the sure way to crime and disappointment, and slavery and self-reproach." P. 135.

The French Revolution taught a lesson the very opposite of that which is here ascribed to it. For centuries before that event, the Roman Catholic clergy had fed the minds of the common people of France with "mysteries," and taught them to give up the "wisdom of man," and to cling to the unintelligible. The people under their guidance had carefully shunned "the philosophy of the understanding," and yielded in all things to their priests. It is true that before the Revolution, the philosophers of France had thrown off this yoke; but the people at large had not done so. That event found them still in the profound ignorance into which they had been allowed by the clergy to fall; and what were the consequences! It was not the emancipated philosophers who perpetrated the horrors of that tragedy; but the common people; the rude, ignorant, uninstructed mass; the men who, with their ancestors, had for centuries been left to the sole guidance of the priests,

sentiment was addressed to his own flock, who loudly applauded this clear and satisfactory solution of the difficulty! The partisans of every sect would have done the same.

and who by them, for their own ease and aggrandisement, had been kept in grovelling ignorance and disgraceful superstition.

The reviewer observes, "*We* (the American people) are not safe from those causes which we suppose to have given its dreadful character to the French Revolution." "This cause was the want of reverence. In feudal times, reverence was universal, except, perhaps, among a few of the best informed. As the world has grown older, the veneration for things formerly venerated has disappeared, because too often acquaintance has proved them to be undeserving; and, while the old objects have ceased to be venerated, new objects, deserving reverence, have not been brought before us." These are sensible remarks, but who would have expected to see a writer who could state them so clearly, proposing *Puseyism* as a new object deserving to be venerated! "In addition to this," he continues, "the success which attended analysis and logic, as applied to matter, and many old prejudices and habits, has given us an undue faith in these processes; and men incline to trust and rely upon no truths save those reached through logic and analysis." This remark is not equally sound with that which preceded it. Correctly stated, the proposition should stand thus: Men decline to receive any doctrine as truth which *directly contradicts* logic and analysis; and hence they reject Puseyism and its consequences.

The reviewer proceeds: "In the United States, all favours the growth of confidence in the intelligi-

ble only; of reliance upon the tangible, the useful, the comprehensible. Efforts have been made from time to time to introduce among us more faith and reverence, and if we are not mistaken, there is reason to think there is a philosophy now in progress that will help to sustain these efforts;* but as yet the favourers of reverence are few and scattered, separated by religious, or political, or social differences,—and the want of respect and veneration presents daily greater and greater dangers. Children do not reverence their parents, chiefly because these parents reverence nothing themselves. How can a father hope to be respected, who never expresses, by word or act, respect for his fellow-men or his Maker? Independence is, in our land, mistaken for freedom," p. 133. He accuses Jefferson of having been tinctured with French principles, and concludes thus: "We do think our country, then, in danger of becoming irreverent, religious, and sensual, rather than spiritual."

The facts here stated, in regard to the present condition of the American mind, are to a considerable extent true; but the remedy proposed of introducing Puseyism and the "mysterious" is preposterous. By tracing the cause of the evil we may arrive at a more rational perception of a remedy. The following views are offered with all deference to the reviewer's opinions.

At the time of the American Revolution the Federal leaders were men of great talent, honour, and

* I do not know to what "philosophy" the reviewer here alludes.

integrity; but they had been educated in the monarchical principles of England. The people, even after they became republicans, continued to feel that respect for wealth and rank which their English training had impressed upon their minds, and they allowed the Federalists to rule. The Federalists, following the example of the aristocracy and the clergy in England, did nothing to raise the character and intelligence of the people. In the progress of time this generation died out, and a new generation appeared. They discovered their own power, and made efforts to wield it, and finally triumphed in the election of Jefferson to the presidential chair. While these events were taking place, neither the new leaders of the people, nor the defeated Federalists, made any adequate efforts to raise the standard of public intelligence. They neither educated intellectually, nor trained morally the people; but left them to their own efforts, and to those of the clergy. After the peace of 1815, the Federalist party was entirely ruined. They descended from their high pretensions, yielded up much of their leaven of aristocracy, and amalgamated with the best of the Republicans, and then took the name of Whigs; but still they did nothing effectual to educate the people.

After a few years, the wilder democrats, who had been extinguished by this coalition, had the sagacity to discover that the people might be flattered and seduced away from the Whigs, and they came forth with democratical doctrines as far below the amalgamated Whig creed, as this creed had been below the

Federal. They triumphed in the election of General Jackson, and still continue to hold power. The very foundation of their victory was the want of reverence in the people for old names, old doctrines, and old measures; but will Puseyism bring them back to venerate these? Assuredly not. The error committed has been in following, for too long a period, the pernicious example of the church and aristocracy of England,—that of neglecting to prepare the minds of the people by education, for wielding with success the vast power which the American institutions have committed to their hands.

It is true that the education of the people is *now* attracting serious attention; but it is only recently that this has been the case. The active generation at present on the stage is greatly under-educated in reference to their political powers and their duties, and fifty years from the present time must elapse before the real effects of the American institutions can be fairly judged of by their influence on an instructed generation. Even at this day, notwithstanding all past experience, the conviction is not general among the Whig party, that their only chance of *retaining* power (for they may gain it by accident for a time) lies in raising the mental condition of the people up to that degree of intelligence which will enable them to understand the moral and political principles on which the welfare of nations is founded, and in *training* them to act in accordance with these. It is true that even the purely selfish among the rich have discovered that they are in the

hands of the masses, whose ignorance and excitability alarm them. They are, therefore, at last seriously desirous to educate them for self-preservation, if from no higher motive; just as they would desire to pare the claws of a wild beast that had unfortunately got into the drawing-room, and could not be expelled;—but do not many of them still linger over the condition of European society with regret, and lament in their hearts that the people are their masters, and that they cannot do without them?

So far from the attempt being successful to bring back the people to reverence the mere wealth of the rich, or to invest the clergy with a mysterious sanctity, it will now only excite ridicule. The rich and the clergy must bring their own maxims and pretensions "to the touchstone of the understanding;" they must abandon "the mysterious" in so far as it relates to the affairs of this world, and attend to that "wisdom" which God has impressed on the material and moral world. It has been my humble endeavour, in "The Constitution of Man," in my "Moral Philosophy," and in my Lectures, to convince the people that there are not two "wisdoms" relative to this world, human and divine, but one wisdom, which is altogether of God,—which is written in the frame-work of the external universe, and in our own bodies and minds, as well as in the Bible; and that unless they study this wisdom, and act according to it, they cannot prosper in this life. Their present want of reverence may be traced to their deficiency in intellectual education and moral training. The

present generation scarcely knows any wisdom superior to its own; but the wisdom of God, when properly taught to them, will render them at once reverential and independent.

The impediments in the way of extending a sound and truly valuable education to the people of America are very great. The first step towards accomplishing this end must be to institute normal schools for the instruction of the teachers, not only in the proper subjects to be taught, but in the best modes of teaching. The assertion that this is necessary, is resented by nine out of every ten of the actual teachers as a personal insult; and they find it no difficult matter to induce the parents of the children to participate in their feelings. Again, many authors and publishers are interested in the existing school-books; and to say that some of them are ill adapted for instruction, is to affect the interests of their owners, and render these individuals secret or declared enemies. There are numerous zealous, vigilant, and influential clergymen, each advocating peculiar sectarian views of Christianity; and to expound a principle in mental philosophy or morals which threatens, even in the most remote degree, to clash with their particular interpretations of Scripture, excites their alarm and rouses their hostility. These various interests send forth under-currents of discontent, which wait only the occasion of some tangible act on the part of the friends of education that may be plausibly condemned or successfully misrepresented, when they immediately combine and form a powerful stream of public

opposition to the best efforts of the true friends of the people. The only means of removing all these obstacles is the stedfast address of information and reason to the people, in a spirit which will bear in meekness a thousand disappointments, and still persevere in the faith of ultimate success.

August 23. Ther. 69°. *The Church of Scotland and Education.*—In Britain the cause of education has still greater obstacles to contend with. The Edinburgh newspapers contain a report of a meeting held in the Assembly Rooms of that city on the 8th of July, at which the subject of national education was discussed. The company were admitted by tickets, and the Rev. Dr Muir was called to the chair. The "Central Society" for promoting education (which advocates a national system of education universally applicable by avoiding sectarian teaching), and the Evidence of Mr James Simpson on that subject, given before a Committee of the House of Commons, were severely commented on. Dr Muir is reported to have said, that "what excited alarm in his mind, on the present occasion, was the remarkable coincidence that had taken place between the opinions of these philosophical educationists and the projects of education which had been issued by the Government." Mr Balfour, the minister of Colinton, moved the first resolution, "to the effect that the education of youth ought to be vested in the ministers of the Established Church;" which was seconded by Mr Johnston. Mr John Wood, of the Sessional School, moved a resolution expressing thanks to God for the

" parochial school system, superintended by the parochial minister, and in which the Bible was received as the basis of all instruction." He declared his dissent from Mr Simpson's views of education, and commented in " severe terms on the monstrous consequences to which this would lead." Mr Swinton of Inverleith Row moved that an address be presented to her Majesty, and that petitions " be sent to both Houses of Parliament deprecating the proposed measure" of Government to establish an educational system open to all sects. These resolutions were adopted.

I introduce this subject to my American readers as a practical example of the nature and mode of action of an Established Church. It is a single sect, endowed by the Government, and placed in possession of ecclesiastical power extending over the whole kingdom, and professing articles of belief sanctioned by act of Parliament. It is chained in its position by its legal fetters. Theology may gather new lights from science — from profounder erudition in the clergy, or from increasing civilization in the people; but the law-enacted creed cannot admit one ray of light into its dogmas. When the clergy of an established church see the public mind advancing in knowledge, and in the practice of the Christian virtues of mutual forbearance, justice, and benevolence, they take the alarm for the safety of their own pretensions to supremacy. They discover that, if the people should be educated in useful knowledge, and induced to practise that precept of Christianity which

teaches us to "love our neighbours as ourselves," their exclusive dominion would be wrested from them; and they, therefore, leave no effort untried to secure to themselves the education and training of the young, with a view to bind them to their chariot wheels through life.

Since the Reformation, the Church has had the charge of the education of the people both in England and Scotland. On the 5th of July 1839, the Marquis of Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, presented a graphic picture of the success with which the Church has discharged this duty in England. In Kent, said he, the maniac Thom had induced the people to receive him as one of the Messrs Rothschild, the rich bankers; as the King of Jerusalem; as the Earl of Devon; and lately in the sacred character of the Saviour of mankind;" "and in each of these characters he was implicitly believed, and blindly followed, by the greater proportion of the whole population of three or four parishes." "In two or three instances the most infatuated of his followers were the very masters and mistresses of the village schools! Kent was not singular in its ignorance. He believed that in his own immediate neighbourhood, in the west of England, it would only require the appearance of another Thom to give rise to a similar exhibition of fanaticism."

If the common people had been invested with any degree of political power, or had enjoyed any legal and constitutional means by which they could have brought the evils of their ignorance to bear on the en-

joyments of the aristocracy and the clergy, would they have been allowed to fall into such a state of mental degradation? No! At present, they have no way of making this ignorance influence the comforts of the rich, except by open violations of the law, such as burning corn-stacks and other property. The chartists have lately destroyed houses and shops in Birmingham to the value of L.40,000 Sterling. For these offences they are imprisoned, banished, or executed; meanwhile the clergy and aristocracy continue to oppose the only practicable scheme of averting such catastrophes,—that of universal education. In the United States, the ignorance of the masses operates through the medium of the ballot box, and it is filling the wealthy with so much terror for their own safety, that they are as ardently desirous to educate the people, as the majority of the English peers and clergy are to prevent the accomplishment of such an object. Can the Church of England then be safely trusted with the education of the masses in future? Two reasons forbid it. *First*, Two-fifths of the people are dissenters, and the *nation* includes the whole; and, *secondly*, the spirit of the Church of England is avowedly Conservative of all corporate and social privileges, and it is therefore hostile to the elevation of the masses into that condition of intelligence and morality which will render them fit to send representatives of their own feelings and interests into the legislative assemblies of the country, and thereby to destroy all unjust advantages, enjoyed exclusively by particular classes.

No body of men should be intrusted with *national* education, who do not conscientiously desire to advance both the mental and physical condition of the people, without regard to the consequences of their improvement on the privileges of those who are now their superiors. An enlightened and moral people will grant *justice* to all, and no class has any title to more.

In Scotland, the clergy have as little reason to boast of their success in national education. Their folds also include only three-fifths of the population, and they have therefore no right to direct the education of the whole. Besides, it is confessed by themselves that they shamefully neglected both the spiritual and the temporal education of the people during seventy years of the last century; and Dr Chalmers lately proclaimed that the large towns in particular of Scotland are overrun by "unexcavated heathens." Dr Spurzheim, when he last visited Scotland, remarked that the Scotch appeared to him to be the most priest-ridden nation in Europe; Spain and Portugal not excepted. After having seen other countries, I can understand the force of this observation. One of the disadvantages of Scotland is her remote situation, and the consequent limited intercourse of the majority of her people with foreign nations. She has grown up as a little world within herself. She tries her church, her clergy, her schools, her opinions in general, by no standard but her own cherished prepossessions; and she finds them perfect. In Protestant Germany,

Switzerland, and the United States, the darker features of Calvinism are softening. Scotland clings to them all; and with perfect self complacency charges these other nations with "backsliding" from the truth. This is precisely what the Spaniards and Portuguese have long done in regard to their opinions, under the guidance of their priests. The clergy and political partisans in Scotland take advantage of this tendency to self-admiration, and by assuring the people that they are the most orthodox Christians in the world, they rivet the chains of bigotry and intolerance round the necks of the enthralled listeners by their own hands. In the United States, the system of education which has called forth the petition from the Church party in Edinburgh to the Queen, has been in actual operation, and with the best effect, for years. The State provides for *all* the people, secular education and instruction in those moral departments of Christianity in which all sects are agreed; and it leaves to parents and pastors of every sect the duty of indoctrinating the young in their own peculiar tenets. The State recognises no sect as wiser, or better, or sounder than the others, but leaves the people to judge of their merits, and to support them according to the dictates of their own consciences and understandings. The consequences are—extremely little religious animosity; churches supported by voluntary zeal so numerous that in New England, and in the cities generally over the Union, there is one for every thousand inhabitants; and a clergy so industrious that a large

proportion of them actually sacrifice their health, and some their lives, in the discharge of their duties. The churches, moreover, are far more handsome and comfortable in their accommodations, and much better filled, than those of the Establishment in Scotland. Meanwhile the whole country is actively engaged in the work of education. It is no wonder, then, that the people of the United States look with astonishment at the proceedings of our Established clergy in regard to education, and that they sympathise with the working classes, when they complain of "the great opposition given to a grant of L.30,000 for the education of the poor, in contrast with the little opposition to a grant of L.70,000 for building a riding house for the Queen."*

Supply of Ice to Calcutta.—American enterprise has led to the regular supply of Calcutta with ice from the United States, as an article of commerce. A gentleman of Boston, who owns a ship of 400 tons employed in this trade, described to me the process of loading the ship. In the month of February, the ice is cut into square blocks and built regularly up in the hold till it is quite full. The interstices between the blocks, and also the sides and a few inches at the bottom of the vessel, are filled with husks of rye, and the whole forms a compact mass. The hatches are then closed, and the hold is rendered as nearly air-tight as possible. About one-fourth of the whole quantity shipped melts in the voyage.

* Address by the General Convention of the working classes to the middle classes.

The moisture trickles down and is pumped out with the bilge water; the remaining three-fourths are delivered in Calcutta. The trade yields a fair profit.

The New York City Humane and Criminal Institutions.—The Female Penitentiary at Bellevue contains 71 convicts. The Female Penitentiary at Blackwell's Island contains 224. The Male Penitentiary at the latter place contains 232 convicts. The House of Refuge contains 158 boys and 58 girls—total 216. The Lunatic Asylum on Blackwell's Island contains 200 persons—95 men and 105 women. There are in the Almshouse at Bellevue 2432 persons—1167 natives of this country, and 1265 foreigners.* The City prison contains 128—95 men and 33 women—16 of whom are in the debtors' department. The "Nurseries" at the Long Island farm contain 776

* The almshouse is the refuge for the paupers of the city; and this return confirms two facts which I adverted to in vol. ii. p. 46, namely, that the aggregate number of paupers in the American cities is small compared with that in British cities, and that a large proportion of them are foreigners. In regard to the charge formerly alluded to, made against the Managers of St Cuthbert's charity workhouse in Edinburgh of shipping paupers to the United States, in order to free themselves from the burden of maintaining them, I find that I have understated their defence. Mr Johnston paid the agents at Liverpool for the ship "Chieftain" the "head-money which is exacted from every individual going from Great Britain to New York," for himself and his apprentices and servants. The captain of the vessel neglected to report him and his people at New York on their arrival, and to pay the "head-money," in consequence of which Mr Johnston was carried before the Mayor, Mr Clark, and fined in 500 dollars, and imprisoned because he was unable to pay or give bail for that sum. This was regarded even in New York as an outrage on justice.

persons—516 boys, 172 girls, 12 men and 76 women.—*September* 1839.

Mercantile Honour in New York.—"A dispute has been carried on in some of the papers as to the amount of mercantile honour in New York. Our opinion is, that there are in New York some of the biggest rascals that go unhanged. Besides these, there are a good many little rascals, some of whom were born here, but most of them received their education in other places. Further, there are a great many very well behaved gentlemanly people engaged in trade."—*New York Journal of Commerce, 20th July* 1839. This is an honest, and apparently a very correct statement of the case. August 31. Ther. 51°.

Law as to Challenge.—It has been decided in Philadelphia that a challenge to fight with fists is an indictable offence; in *The Commonwealth* v. *Caleb Whitehead, before Judge Todd and Jury, 15th August* 1839. The judge remarked that this is not an indictable offence in England, and that the point has never hitherto been decided in Pennsylvania; but that, after hearing able pleadings by the counsel in the case, he is of opinion that it *is* an indictable offence, and ruled accordingly. The jury returned a verdict of guilty.

A Storm.—Last night the wind increased to a heavy gale from the north and north-east, accompanied by a tremendous rain. Cape Cottage, a frame-house of three storeys, clap-boarded, vibrated to its foundations, and our bed shook beneath us. The rain streamed through the roof, penetrated the room

above ours, and fell in large drops on our floor. The windows leaked, and the wind roared through our apartments, as if they had been Eolus's cave. The storm continues this day, and the sea comes rolling in from the Atlantic, in stupendous waves, and breaks with terrific grandeur against the rugged cliffs that skirt the shore.

Captain Marryat's Diary.—I have perused the American reprint of this work. It is a special pleading against the Americans, and not an impartial judgment on their character and institutions. His section on religion is a strange combination of illogical ideas. He represents the multiplication of sects as fatal to religion. This, however, is contradicted by facts. His argument amounts to this: that if we leave the human mind free, with reason and the Bible as its only guides, to form its own opinions, and institute its own ceremonies in religion, the consequence will be simply the multiplication of errors; but he should have explained how the selecting of one sect, and declaring it by act of Parliament to be the depositary of the only true faith, will confer on its doctrines the character of unquestionable truth. Does the act which provides bounties for those who believe in the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, and penalties for those who do not believe in them, render them infallibly true? The lesson which the multitude of sects conveys to my mind is, that those points in which they all agree must be clearly revealed in the Bible, and must therefore constitute the essence of Christianity, while

those regarding which they differ widely, must be not so explicitly unfolded, and be therefore less essential to human salvation. The progress of discussion in the United States is diminishing the points of difference, and increasing those of agreement. For example, the eternal perdition of infants is now given up by all, or nearly all sects, whereas a century ago this was a favourite orthodox article of belief. Again, the doctrine of the total corruption of human nature is now in the progress of being abandoned or modified by the different sects; which also was a fundamental element in all sound belief half a century ago. Other modifications are in progress, some of which I shall take a subsequent opportunity of stating.

Captain Marryat accuses American jurymen of accepting bribes. I have never heard this mentioned by the Americans themselves as a defect in the working of their institutions, and I have no means of knowing to what extent the evil, if it do exist, prevails. But, without meaning in the least to palliate the iniquity of it, I may be allowed to remind Captain Marryat that a short time ago, even in the reformed Parliament of Great Britain, the members of the House of Commons, the chosen of the land, when acting in the character of judges on committees on disputed elections, disregarded, in the most shameless manner, all law, evidence, and justice, and voted the tories for the tory candidates, and the whigs for the whig candidates, without a single exception, till the abuse roused the indignation of the honest men of all parties over the whole empire, and was at last

corrected. The American juries are often composed of ignorant men in humble circumstances; whereas these committees consisted of men of the first rank, fortune, and education in the country.

He mentions a judge who acquitted a female convicted of theft because she was "a pretty girl." We could have told him in Scotland of a sheriff, only lately deceased, who was so great an admirer of the fair sex, that, according to common report, when he sat as judge in the small debt court, he decided in favour of the lady, whether plaintiff or defendant, the moment he saw her head-gear, as she passed through the crowd to come to the bar, and without waiting to discover whether she was old or young, plain or pretty, or to hear either what she claimed or what she resisted. Such stories have in general just so much truth in them as to render them amusing expositions of the foibles of the individuals of whom they are narrated; but it is absurd to cite them as traits of national character.

Sept. 3. *Aurora Borealis.*—This evening at half-past seven we saw a beautiful aurora borealis. In the zenith its top was exactly like the centre of a splendid canopy, from which its rays, some of them of a deep purple colour, seemed to descend to the horizon. I afterwards read in the newspapers that on the evening of the same day the same appearances had been seen at London, New York, and New Orleans! As there is a difference of nearly six hours between London and New Orleans, this aurora must have retained its form and colours for an extraordi-

nary length of time. The sun must have been shining on New Orleans when the aurora was observed in its greatest splendour in London! Its height must have been great, for it was seen precisely at the same hour in the same part of the heavens, and presenting the same appearances, in New York and Portland-in-Maine, which are more than 300 miles apart.

Sept. 10. Ther. 65°. *Sunday.*—In New York it has recently been decided that it is unlawful to sell newspapers in the street on Sunday.

The Amistad Schooner.—For some days a long, low, black schooner, of a very suspicious appearance, was observed hovering off the American coast, and she has at last been captured in Long Island Sound. She was filled with negroes lately brought from the coast of Africa to Havannah, a Spanish city, and sold there as slaves to a Spaniard, who hired this vessel to carry them to his estate in Cuba. They rose on the captain and killed him and one of the crew; several others fled from the vessel in a boat, and the rest, including their purchaser, they saved alive. They commanded them to steer to Africa, which they did during the day, as the Negroes knew that Africa lay to the south, and the sun shewed them the direction; but during the night they invariably steered north, until they came to Long Island coast. A vigorous discussion is proceeding in the American newspapers, whether these men are murderers and pirates, or noble asserters of their invaded rights.

Sept. 11. Ther. 61°. *Dr Sewall the Anti-Phreno-*

logist.—In vol. ii. p. 106, I mentioned that I had stated to this gentleman that he erred in regard not only to the truth or merits of Phrenology (as to which he had as good a right to form a judgment as any phrenologist), but in respect to the subject itself, and that the representation given of it in his work entitled "Errors of Phrenology exposed" was a tissue of mistakes of his own; upon which he had expressed the possibility of his revising his opinions. A second edition of his book has since appeared, in which all the old misrepresentations are retained. Not only so, but the same errors in quotation are carefully preserved. As an example of his accuracy in point of doctrine, I cite the following words from my Elements of Phrenology, in which the real Phrenological views are stated, and I shall then introduce his representation of them. "The Phrenologist never compares *intellectual* ability with the size of the *brain in general;* for a fundamental principle of the science is, that different parts of the brain have different functions, and that hence the *same absolute quantity of brain*, if consisting of *intellectual* organs, may be connected with the highest genius, while, if consisting of the *animal organs*, lying in the basilar and occipital regions of the head, it may indicate the most fearful energy of the lower propensities." Elements of Phrenology, p. 151. With this passage before his eyes, Dr Sewall represents us as saying that, "If a *small head* be connected with a powerful *intellect*, it only proves that the *brain*, though *small*, is well organized, and acts with uncommon energy!" P. 46.

The following will suffice as a specimen of his representation of facts :—" When all these fail," says he, " in furnishing a satisfactory explanation, another method still more amusing is sometimes resorted to in relieving Phrenology from embarrassment. It may be illustrated by the following facts : There is a celebrated divine now living in Scotland equally distinguished for his amiable disposition, his gigantic powers of mind, and the great moral influence which he exerts upon the Christian world. This individual, *it is said*, has the organ of Destructiveness very largely developed, *and not having any counteracting organ very large*, it is contended by those who are acquainted with the fact, that he manifests his inherent disposition to murder, by his mighty efforts to destroy vice, and break down systems of error. In this way he gratifies his propensity to shed blood." By the words " it is said," as well as by the whole context, Dr Sewall obviously affirms that this is a statement or representation given by Phrenologists : It is a pure fiction ! No such statement, nor any thing resembling it, is known to me to exist in the whole literature of Phrenology. Dr Sewall cites no authority for it whatever.

Finally, Dr Spurzheim carried with him to America several *diseased* skulls of uncommon thickness, which he shewed in his lectures in elucidation of the rule, that in making observations we must select *healthy* individuals not past the prime of life, because in disease and old age *the skull does not indicate the size of the brain.* After his death his collection was sold, and one of these skulls came into Dr Warren's

possession, who sent it to Dr Sewall. He has lithographed it, and presented it to his readers without mentioning the rule now stated, *or the use which Dr Spurzheim made of the skull.* In some regions this specimen is more than an inch thick! Dr Sewall introduces drawings of four other skulls differing very widely from each other in thickness, but instead of mentioning the age and state of health of each of them (which he dared not do, because such information would have destroyed his own argument), he leaves his unskilled readers to infer that they are all *normal* skulls. His own words are, " The history of the intellectual character of the individuals whose crania are here delineated *I shall not detail*, as the only object of introducing them is to shew the *natural and insurmountable* obstacles which exist in *ascertaining the amount of brain by the measurement or inspection of the living head.* Such a history would be entirely irrelevant, as it could in no way aid the Phrenologist in his examination. The difference of their thickness furnishes impressive evidence of the impossibility of ascertaining the volume of the brain by the rules of Phrenology!" It is difficult to decide whether the disingenuousness or the indiscretion of this statement is most conspicuous, for Dr Sewall is a professor of anatomy, and he certainly knows that the cases in question are exceptions to the general rule, and that in making the foregoing statement he is at issue not only with Phrenologists, but with high anatomical and non-phrenological authorities. Magendie of Paris, for example, who is

hostile to Phrenology, has said that the " volume of the brain is generally in direct proportion to the capacity of the mind;" and that " the only way of estimating the volume of the brain in a living person is to measure the dimensions of the skull: every other means, even that proposed by Camper, is uncertain."* And Dr John Gordon, the opponent of Phrenology, in the 49th number of the Edinburgh Review, says—" But we will acquiesce implicitly for the present in the proposition (familiar to physiologists long before the ages of Gall and Spurzheim), that there is in most instances a general correspondence between the size of the cranium and the quantity of cerebrum; that large heads usually contain large brains, and small heads small brains." (P. 246.)

It is not my intention to present any answer to Dr Sewall's lucubrations; this has already been done in a very effectual manner by Dr Caldwell in his " Phrenology vindicated," and by Dr Bell in the Select Medical Library; but this second edition is fortified with a new species of evidence, which deserves some attention. Dr Sewall presented his work to several distinguished men, *who knew nothing of Phrenology*, but whose opinions are influential in the United States, and obtained their opinions of his book and the science. They wrote him complimentary letters in return, praising his book, and condemning Phrenology as untrue and dangerous, and he has printed these letters in the front of his new edition!

* Compendium of Physiology, Milligan's Translation, p. 104. Edit. 1826.

This was a cruel hoax perpetrated by him on these respectable men. In the Appendix, No. I. I present a few specimens of these certificates; and one to the same effect, which came too late for his second edition, from the Emperor of China.

Several of the English magazines, and also a Berlin journal, annoyed at the progress of Phrenology, which they had authoritatively condemned, hailed Dr Sewall's lectures as a grand support to their own hostile opinions, and proclaimed them as a complete refutation of the science. I wish them joy of their ally.

Dr Channing and the Edinburgh Review.—There are two classes of moralists of very different characters. In the one the intellect is powerful, and the moral sentiments relatively feeble. Men thus constituted, regard utility as the standard of virtue, and draw their moral maxims chiefly from the dictates of their understandings, much in the same manner as they deduce mathematical conclusions. Paley is a representative of this class. In the other, the moral sentiments are equal to, or preponderate over, the intellectual faculties. Men of this class first *feel* the right, the true, and the beautiful, by a species of intuition, and then employ their intellectual faculties to give specific form and expression to their moral impressions. Dr Channing appears to me to belong to this class, and Fenelon, also, was one of them. Critics, like other men, approve of works which embody their own style of thinking, and condemn those produced by minds different from their own. Dr Channing has been particularly unfortunate in respect to the individuals to whom his works are said

to have been committed for criticism in the Edinburgh Review. The first notice of them, which appeared in October 1829, is understood to have been written by the late William Hazlitt. Hazlitt had a vigorous intellect, and considerable Ideality, but he appears to have been deficient in some of the moral organs, particularly Conscientiousness. This faculty produces the love of the simple, the true, and the consistent. Hazlitt had no taste for these, but rejoiced in paradoxes. Conscientiousness, Veneration, and Benevolence, when powerful, imbue the mind with meekness, philanthropy, and a sincere respect for, and trust in, human virtue. Hazlitt laboured under the affliction of disappointed ambition, envy, ill-nature, and distrust of mankind. He was no better qualified, therefore, to appreciate Dr Channing's genius and writings, than a critic deficient in Time, Tune, and Ideality, would have been to discover and describe the peculiar excellences of Mozart's Requiem. Accordingly, his review is a tissue of small objections, written in a querulous, dogmatical, and contentious spirit, while scarcely a gleam of Dr Channing's highest qualities appears to have penetrated his mind. The most profound and correct portion of Dr Channing's character of Napoleon, that in which he traces the grand errors of the Emperor's life and his ultimate downfall, to his insensibility to justice, was to Hazlitt altogether incomprehensible, and he recognises neither truth nor depth in the idea. He entirely overlooks it.

Another criticism of Dr Channing's works appeared in the Edinburgh Review for April 1839, which

is ascribed to Lord Brougham. If Hazlitt was ill-qualified to appreciate Dr Channing's genius, Lord Brougham was not much better fitted to do so. To some of Hazlitt's defects he added deficiency of Ideality. Blind to the numberless beauties both of thought and expression in Dr Channing's "Remarks on Fenelon," written upwards of twenty years ago, he seized on some small defects in its style, pointed out these in a cynical tone, and passed without notice the best as well as the most recent of the author's productions. The time was when the Edinburgh Review was the advocate of freedom of thought, and the patron of high-minded principle. Dr Channing's fame has risen far above the sphere of its influence either for good or evil; but for its own sake, it should not have been found in the ranks of his detractors. His character of Napoleon was worthy of its commendation, even in its brightest days, and he had many other claims to its respect. He was a clergyman, and yet the enemy of creeds, because they fetter the understanding and prevent the progress of the mind in moral and theological science; he was an American citizen, and subject to the whole influence of public opinion, which in his country is described as a tyranny, yet he braved that opinion with the most admirable courage, and sacrificed popularity and influence to the calls of duty. His appeal to the American public against the admission of Texas into the Union, is one of the soundest political treatises in point of principle, the loftiest in moral tone, and the most eloquent in composition, in the English language, and it had a prodigious ef-

fect; nevertheless, it was written altogether on the unpopular side, and few men in the Union would have ventured to brave opinion as he did in addressing to his countrymen such plain and fervid language, in condemnation of a favourite scheme. Again, his bold and eloquent denunciations of slavery have reared up hosts of enemies against him, and added another claim to the respect of all the generous and good for his talents and his intrepidity. Finally, while the whole Union was excited with a vivid passion for war against England about the Maine boundary, and Mr Clay and Mr Webster, and other political leaders, either fanned the flame, or stood aloof and saw it rage, Dr Channing again stepped forth, and, in an admirable sermon against war, appealed to the reason of his countrymen, even in the midst of their fiercest excitement, in favour of peace, and of the interests of civilization. These great services, not to his country alone, but to mankind, had all been performed, and their blessed effects were discernible on the public mind, when the review ascribed to Lord Brougham appeared in the United States. Its paltry exposition of defects in the style of one of his oldest Essays, and its contemptuous estimate of the merits of the most intrepid and eloquent advocate of the supremacy of moral principle, in public as well as private affairs, and of the rights of the oppressed, was unworthy of a liberal and enlightened critic. Dr Channing, moreover, was a Unitarian, a sect which is not powerful in the United States, and which is much vilified by the orthodox in Britain; and yet he

dared to encounter the prejudices of his countrymen when the Orthodox in general took counsel of discretion.

The extent of this merit cannot be appreciated by those who have not lived in the United States. The New York Evangelical says, "The truth is, that ministers are so dependent upon the money-making part, and so easily influenced by the fashionable part, of their congregations, that, however forcibly they may preach against sin in general, there is a great want of that moral courage which will point out particular and popular sins, and say to their audiences, 'Ye are the men.'" Dr Channing has not only said to his countrymen, "Ye are the men," but has represented to them in the boldest manner the principles which they, as Christians, are bound to follow; regardless equally of "the money-making" and "fashionable" portions of his congregation and the community at large.

If the Edinburgh Review had come forward in a spirit worthy of its own principles and of its former fame, and added its influence to give effect to these generous efforts, it would not indeed have raised Dr Channing's reputation on either side of the Atlantic, for happily this is beyond its control, but would have done credit to itself and the country which gives it birth. The course which it has actually followed, has gratified the enemies of Dr Channing in America, encouraged them in their depreciation of his talents and usefulness, and made the friends of moral, religious, and political freedom lament the decay of what once was the vigorous champion of the great and the good.

CHAPTER II.

Cape Cottage—Portland—Jeremy Bentham—Phrenology—Hartford in Connecticut—Phrenology—Advertisements—The Banks—Miss Martineau and the Ladies of Boston—The Amistad Africans—The Militia—The Late War—The New England Voice—Phrenology—Sunday—Education and Phrenology—Phrenology—The People of Connecticut—Religious Denominations in Connecticut—The Politicians—Fires—Mrs Sigourney—Bank Suspension—The Deaf and Dumb—Phrenology—Natural Language—The Temperaments—Taxes—Sunday—Effects of the Institutions of England and America—The Eglinton Tournament—Education in the State of New York.

1839.

Sept. 12. Ther. 55°. *Cape Cottage.*—We have now resided eight weeks in this delightful retreat, and I borrow the description of it from C——'s letter to a friend. "Here you may picture us quietly seated in our summer retreat, a handsome, rather large cottage, built of wood, clap-boarded, and painted white, with those green outside window-shutters which give such an air of coolness and neatness to New England cottages in general. Cape Cottage stands upon Cape Elizabeth, a projecting point, jutting out into Casco Bay, and forming one of its extremities. It lies three miles and a half from Portland, whether by a good road or by the sea. Casco Bay is full of islands beautifully grouped; common report states them to amount to 300, but the fisherman whose boat we hire to carry us among them, limits their number to 43. Portland Harbour, which is formed by an indentation in the land, is protected from the Atlan-

tic on all sides by these islands, through which, however, several channels allow ships to approach it from various points. Nothing can exceed the picturesque beauty of the vessels when appearing and disappearing through these openings. The harbour is defended by two forts, named after natives of Portland, Fort Preble, on the main land, and opposite to it on an island, Fort Scammel. The Americans have improved the name of the cape, by changing the Indian 'Pooduc' into 'Cape Elizabeth;' but they have been less successful with the islands, to three of which they have given the unpoetical appellations of 'Hog,' 'House,' and 'Bang.' The main channel to the harbour lies in front of our windows, at the distance of a hundred yards. It is about one mile broad, and is bounded on the opposite side by Hog Island. We enjoy a view of the vessels bound to and from Portland, and certainly no craft can look better under a soft southern breeze and a bright sun; for their sprightly elegant forms glide like nautilus shells on a ground of lapis lazuli, with their white sails unsullied by dirt or coal-smoke.

"The coast is rocky, and not unlike that of Cullercoats on our own north-eastern shores. The rocks are of mica-slate, which is not always a very picturesque formation; but here they contain iron, which, by rusting, has subjected them to disintegration, and the waves have torn them into manifold forms, and strewed them about in a thousand fantastic groups. They seem as if fashioned for the very purpose of delighting the idler; you may scramble over them for miles, and every pinnacle will afford you a varied

view; or you may sit under their shade, screened from all winds and from the sun at every hour of the day. Here you may ruminate on ocean, earth, and heaven, and, if fond of adventure, you may, by indulging in a little absence of mind, be surrounded by the tide, and become a living statue ornamenting a craggy point of rock, till the falling waters set you free. From this grandeur of devastation and disorder, you are brought by a sweep of the coast into a sweet, placid, little bay, where you would think the miniature wavelets could never swell into fury, and yet we have seen the Atlantic, when roused by a north-easterly gale, pour terrific masses of water into these seemingly peaceful retreats.

"The place is essentially scenic: Every white sail that starts out from behind a jutting rock makes you think that an adventure ought to belong to it, and every man who takes up a fishing-rod, and places himself on an eminence, however common-looking before, is immediately transformed into a picturesque object, and is invested with interest. Although Nature has not endowed me with those strong perceptive faculties that constitute enthusiasts in scenery, yet a fine prospect appeals also to the moral part of our nature, and leads us, by a process too rapid for analysis, from physical to mental beauty, and to its Author, Infinite Goodness. I can seldom recall to my mind's eye, as some persons can, any scene, however lovely or however dear, but, through my mind's affections, it may be long remembered. I sit on these rocks and recall the songs of the sea that I used to hear in my dear native land,

and among them comes oftenest back that sweet ode of Mrs Hemans, "The Treasures of the Deep," in the tones of my own fascinating cousin Mrs A——.

"The land that skirts the coast is like our English downs, grassy and gently undulating, with here a projecting rock and there a little pool. It affords pasture to cattle, sheep, and horses, and is all open to the footsteps of the wanderer. Beyond this, the country is divided into small farms, the possessors of which are also many of them fishermen, whose neat white cottages gleam forth from amidst brushwood, tall Indian corn, and rather stunted trees. As we range along the shore, one ear drinks in the murmur of the waves and the splashing of oars, whilst the other feeds on the notes of American robins, the sharpening of scythes, and the lowing of herds.

"These rural sounds, I am sorry to say, are not always pleasant. In a ramble I took a few days ago, I was distressed by the peculiarly plaintive tone in which a cow, standing alone by a barn, was lowing. 'What 's the matter with her?' I asked of a man who leaned over the wall. 'Calf killed,' was his abrupt reply; and as he spoke he spread a fresh skin on the wall. The poor mother recognised it, ran up to it, began licking it, and smelling to the little hooves that hung down; she then looked into the man's face and lowed most piteously; and again caressed the remains of her lost darling! 'She'll go on that way for four or five days,' said her master; and sure enough it was so, for I never passed that way, for more days than four, that I did not hear her plaintive tones.

"A profusion of wild flowers, some of which are cultivated in gardens at home, may be gathered on the downs and in the fields. Our parlour is generally adorned with bouquets of them, including fragrant dog-roses that grow even in the clefts of the rocks quite down to the margin of the tide. Wild raspberries, of excellent quality, wild strawberries, and the whortleberry, or Scotch "blaeberry," abound everywhere. They, and excellent sea-fishing, attract numerous parties of pleasure from Portland, who arrive, some in handsome barges by the bay, others in equipages of all varieties of form by the road; they spend a few hours rambling singly or in groups, give liveliness to the scene, and return home in the evening. The fields also are alive with grasshoppers, large and small, which hop into your face without ceremony, and are often brought home and hung up in one's closet in some fold of dress, from which they skip forth next morning much to their own gratification and to our surprise. Besides the shrill chirping, which is the only sound uttered by our English grasshoppers, some of these emit a noise like that of castanets in action, or the tapping with an iron-shod walking-stick on a hard stone. Nobody can tell me whether this sound proceeds from the Cicadæ; but, from watching them, I perceive that the individuals which make it are larger than their chirping brothers. As you walk along, you encounter also whole clouds of primrose-coloured butterflies, and pale blue dragon-flies. These are harmless; I wish we could say as much of those bloodthirsty mosquitoes, which infest us everywhere,

and seem as if sent to remind us, amidst all these sweets, that we are still in a world of mingled good and evil. My poor husband has lain on the sofa for three weeks, lame with their bites on his ankles, and is only now again able to walk. My own eyes have often been closed up for days by the mountainous swellings with which they have been encircled, but, thanks to Providence, the mosquitoes have generally taken them in turns, and left me one at a time fit for use. We have learned, however, to exclude them from our rooms. We have nailed catgut muslin over every window, through which they find it difficult to squeeze even their slender bodies; and this, with ablutions of camphorated spirits, nearly frees us from their in-door intrusion.

"We have hired a horse and gig from Captain —— (a respectable butcher in Portland), and had delightful drives into the country. The ground in general, within 10 or 12 miles of our cottage, is pleasing and rural, without being either rich or highly cultivated, and in this dry season most of the roads are good. Every drive brings us within sight of the ocean or the bay, at one point or another; and three tall snow-white towers, crowned with lanterns, and used as lighthouses, are pretty objects in the scene. The condition of the country and people is obviously behind that of the rural population in Connecticut and Massachusetts; but the abundance of spruce firs, generally grouped in small masses, the undulating and verdant surface, and the detached farm-houses and offices, constantly remind me of England, and,

in many points of view, of the "Park" of some great earl. Here you seldom see a cottage, however small, that is not brilliant with white paint, and verdant with green shutters, and without something like a garden about it, producing a pleasing impression of cleanliness and comfort.

"A few days ago some one brought up to the house a portion of common sea-weed, which, by a freak of nature, had grown into the exact similitude of a lady's mantelet or cloak, such as have been lately worn in the world of fashion. It was double, and trimmed round with what was doubtless intended for an embroidered flouncing, since it had regular holes in it like what our grandmothers called punching. It was of a very becoming form, I assure you: they are not uncommon here, both of green and brown colours, so we may suit our complexions in the article, which, perhaps, some mermaid mantua-maker has sent up, in hopes to decoy the poor thoughtless lovers of finery to her emporium below the waves!

"But it is time that I should introduce you to the interior of our cottage. It would never do for an American rural retreat; for, although a 'public house,' as they name a hotel, it is of such moderate dimensions, that the family of one of the ministers of Portland, that of a senator from Maine to Congress, and ourselves, with the landlord and his family, fill it. This is exactly to our taste, but would be very humdrum to those who rejoice in the crowds of Saratoga or the white-sulphur springs. At breakfast, dinner, and tea, we form a very agreeable family party, and,

as we have our separate parlours, we have retirement at command when desired. We find our fellow-'boarders,' as we are called here, excellent and agreeable society. The senator has been in England, and, when in Edinburgh, visited Sir Walter Scott, to whom he carried letters of introduction. Sir Walter played off a little hoax on him, which he never discovered till we told him of it. The 'Great Unknown' took him, as his friend, to a public entertainment, given on the occasion of the coronation of William IV., and placed him near Mr Blackwood the celebrated bookseller, who was then a bailie, and wore a massive gold chain round his neck, as an insignium of office. Sir Walter introduced the American to Mr Blackwood, and whispered into his ear, 'You must always call him *my lord;* he is a bailie!' The senator did as he was directed, and it was only on my husband telling him that a bailie is not styled 'my lord' in Edinburgh that he became aware of the trick. 'Oh, then,' said he, laughing, 'the humorous baronet has been playing off the Yankee against the bailie, and enjoying the joke all the while in his sleeve.' Add to this society visits from various friends in Portland, and from one of the best of Boston's accomplished sons,—one engaged in kindred pursuits with my husband, who has come hither and spent several days with us, and you have a picture of our social parties.

"We boast of no finery in our cottage, but it will vie with a palace for order and cleanliness; our fare is not such as would suit a London alderman, but it

is abundant, savoury, and well-cooked. Air, exercise, and minds agreeably occupied, yet void of care, give an exquisite relish to our dinners of fresh fish, (cunners and polloks caught by the rod on the rocks, by the master of the inn, his son, or their boys), our 'chowder,' or fish-soup, our young Indian corn, and our squash,—the last a very delicate vegetable, I assure you, notwithstanding its frightfully vulgar name. Fowls, turkeys, beef, veal, and mutton, make up our fare, and we are in no danger of suffering want either of substance or variety in our meals.

"You hear much of the want of respect and other faults in the manners of the people here, and, perhaps, if you had seen our hostess quietly keep the seat in our room in which I found her this morning, and heard her tell me, while I was standing before her, that she was trying my air-cushion, and continue to ask various questions about it, without rising, you would have imagined that this was a confirmation of the fact: But in incidents of this kind the *manner* is every thing. Our hostess is a naturally genteel woman, and had not the slightest idea of intruding; her curiosity to understand the nature of the air-cushion bespoke an active intelligence, of which we enjoy the advantage in her management of the general affairs of her household. Besides, in this country, such freedoms do not constitute marks of disrespect, and every land should be tried by its own laws of politeness. Those stiff-necked persons who cannot turn to the right or the left as the road bends, had better stay at home, and enjoy their rigid

postures in their own chimney-corners. At the same time, I must remark that in this country, where equality is the birth-right of all, *manners* should form a much more important branch of education than they do. There are many persons who, through thoughtlessness, or selfishness, or mere ignorance, are in the habit of committing offences against delicacy, refinement, and common sense. These certainly should be taught, with all possible celerity and assiduity, that in a state of society where all ranks may mingle together, and where the lowest may be found in juxtaposition with the highest, *all* are bound to conduct themselves so that they shall not be an annoyance to any. My husband tells them pithily that if they be all sovereigns, as they claim to be, they are bound to be all gentlemen. I go so far with this idea that I maintain that this not only should, but, by proper training in childhood, *might* be the case in all societies. Look at the manners of the poorest children who have been well trained in one of Wilderspin's infant schools; they are inoffensive and well bred, and the sum of their own enjoyment is not diminished by this accomplishment: Nay, it is increased; for good breeding is the consequence of the education of the moral sentiments, which leads to refinement as well as to virtue. We often hear of an aristocracy of intellect. I wish that all over the world we saw an aristocracy of good breeding: If such existed, political equality would not be far distant.

"But I am writing a dissertation, when I meant

only to give you a description. I must introduce you, then, to mine host's eldest daughter Tabby. She is an excellent, sensible, and obliging young woman, and between her and me there have been amicable interchanges of books and other civilities. Her collection of books comprises Byron, Moore, Mrs Hemans, &c. in poetry; a full and well written history of the North American Indian tribes; a description of Herculaneum and Pompeii; a History of all Religions, and many other works. Well, Tabby has just come in to borrow a dress for a pattern; to which I made her most welcome. I mention this incident only to assure you that it may be done, and has been done, without the least shadow of that offensive familiarity which has been attributed to such a request by some of our English historians of American manners. I am quite sure that Tabby would have had pleasure in lending me any of her patterns, and thinks that in borrowing mine she but increases the sum of general enjoyment without in the least deducting from particular advantage. It was a pleasure to me to oblige her; and I can testify besides, that there was no domestic duty which could add to my comfort, which Tabby did not as cheerfully perform as if she had never either owned a work or poetry or borrowed the pattern of a piece of dress.

"The youngest daughter of this family might sit for a picture of Laura or Beatrice. Her face is lovely, with the real golden hair parted from her smooth white brow, and the very peculiarly rich chesnut coloured eyes, which are so rare and so beau-

tiful. This girl, if her form were equal to her face, would be one of the fairest creatures I have seen in this land of fair ones. These girls, and the fishermen, and the boys who attend to the horses and carriages that come here, may be seen strolling together among the wild raspberries, or conversing familiarly under the large portico (with which all American inns are furnished), a perfect specimen of equality; but if you imagine by this that the girls permit, or the men offer, rude jesting, romping, or other improprieties of behaviour, you commit the error of supposing them to be, in manners and feelings, the exact counterparts of our own people of the same station, which is not the case. Their 'sovereignty' has at least taught them self-respect, and this is a great means of insuring respect from others.

"It is a great comfort to us to be served by the landlord's daughters, and by his wife as cook; for the want of 'help' is as great an evil here as in other parts of the Union. A lady of note, in speaking to me of the flourishing state of the cotton factories at Saco, fifteen miles from Portland, said, 'If you want to know the real aristocracy of this country, look at the factory girls;—they will not come to us as servants—they make us work much harder in our kitchens than they do at their spinning-jennies. It would be all fair if we and they could ride and tie; but absolutely it is we who are the domestic drudges.' This you will think is a sad picture of life in a democracy, but, as you are a benevolent lady, perhaps the cause of it may lessen your

regrets: These factory girls are the daughters of small proprietors who farm their own lands, or of respectable tradesmen; they engage in labour to make up a little purse for marriage, or to help an old father and mother, and they naturally prefer that kind of work which yields them the best return. The factory owners pay them two, or two and a half dollars a-week of wages, and in domestic service, they could not obtain much above one-half of this sum.

"If you are not tired of my descriptions, I will introduce you to two more of our friends and companions—fine young Newfoundland Dash, with an ingenuous earnest countenance, ever watching for our casting sticks into the bay that he may swim and bring them back; and little stuffy Yorick, with eyes so clear that I think they must be made of Labrador pebbles, and whose bark is the most perfect expression of self-importance, seemingly uttered to warn the meaner crowd to preserve their proper distance.

"How do we spend our time? In reading, writing, walking, driving, talking, scrambling, and sitting amidst those delicious rocks, in a balmy air! The hours fly like minutes, and the days like hours. One amusement of my husband's amuses me. You must know that Portland is a great port for 'the lumber trade'—Anglicè, the log and deal trade; and the coast of the bay is literally strewed with deal-ends and fragments of wood of all shapes and sizes. He gathers those that suit his purpose, fashions them with his knife into the form of ships, fits rudders and masts to them, uses the outer surface of birch bark for sails,

and sends them forth into the bay or the Atlantic, as the wind answers. We see them scudding joyously before the gentle south-west wind out into the ocean. If any of them reach your coast, capture them and condemn them as lawful prizes. Another of our amusements is watching the great sea serpent. I think that we have found out what perhaps has given rise to some of the stories you may have read about it. One night there was a brisk gale from the south-west, and the appearance of stormy weather. In the morning the porpoises came rolling in to this harbour in great numbers, and some of them of enormous size. They followed each other in a long straight line, and as the backs of a dozen of them in different parts of this line shot up, at the same moment, a small stretch of imagination could supply solid substance to the watery spaces between them, and thus picture them as one continuous creature. Our host, who is a sensible man, gravely asked if we had seen the 'sea sarpent,' 'who,' said he, 'with his family, is reported to be somewhere off this coast.' I heard him put the same question to a chance fisherman, who answered as gravely, 'Oh yes, we've run along side of him for ten miles!' The only drawback, besides the mosquitoes, to our enjoyment, is periodical visitations of dense fogs. They come so regularly every Monday, that we at last reckon them as due on that day. They blot out by their leaden vapour all our lovely islands, bays, roses, cliffs, and even the foaming surge, as if they had never been. One day, as I stood under the

portico, the mist opened for a few seconds, just sufficient to shew the steamboat, from Boston, like a dim ghost, dripping with the heavy fog, and labouring most disconsolately into port; having, as we afterwards heard, been obliged twice to take refuge on her voyage. She gave us one melancholy glance and groan, and was again shrouded from our view.

"12th September. This afternoon, dear ———, we must bid adieu to our pretty cottage, and all its *agrémens*. I have taken my last look of those rocks and waves, and grassy seats, and sunny islands, and I am sad to part with them! It is strange to find one's affections taken captive by a place which one could see only for a few weeks, and which we must leave without the remotest prospect of ever revisiting it; but so it is—our affections answer to the calls of their objects, and leave reason to decide in its own way on the wisdom of their doing so. I have stored my memory with images of goodness, peace, and beauty, and so, my dear Casco Bay, I will not repent of knowing you, though I must leave you behind. You are lying in a glorious sunshine on our last interview, and I carry off your last smile of loveliness as that by which you shall hereafter live in my memory and affections—adieu. I am," &c. C. C.

September 12. Ther. 55°. *Portland.*—This afternoon we left Cape Cottage, and came in a fine barge with two sails to Portland. The evening was delightful, the sea smooth, and the wind fair. The town looked beautiful as we approached it by water. It stands on the slope of a ridge, and from the man-

ner in which it is built, looks very large for its population, which is only 16,000 inhabitants. We remained six days in the town, and enjoyed the hospitality of many friends, who had formed our acquaintance at the Cottage. The society of Portland appeared to us to be very agreeable, and free from form and ceremony. We were entertained at dinner, tea, and evening parties, every day that we remained, and felt new regrets in leaving so many kind and interesting friends.

Phrenology.—Among other gentlemen in Portland who take an interest in Phrenology we became acquainted with Mr John Neal, a lawyer and a distinguished author in the United States. He gave me "The New England Galaxy for January and February 1835," to read, on account of the report which it contains of a trial of a boy, in whose defence he had pleaded and led evidence, avowedly on phrenological principles. The case was the following:—

In the month of July 1834, a boy of nine years of age, named Major Mitchell, the natural son of a poor woman living at Durham, 23 miles from Portland, actuated by some provocation offered to him by David F. Crawford, a boy of eight years of age, induced this boy, by threats and promises, to go with him into a wood to get some flags. When there, Mitchell beat Crawford with his fists, then stript off his clothes, bound him to a tree with the suspenders of his breeches, and flogged him with twigs from head to

foot to the effusion of his blood, castrated him with a piece of tin, and then attempted to drown him in a pool. Crawford at last escaped from his hands, and arrived at home lacerated and naked. Mr Neal finding the boy Mitchell prosecuted criminally by the Commonwealth, and friendless, undertook his defence. He learned from his mother that, "when about a week old, he fell off a high chest on the floor, and was taken up for dead. He struck on the top of his head, and when lifted his hands were clenched and his head swollen." He had been at school, but had never advanced beyond spelling words of one syllable. His head presented a very large development of Destructiveness, also large Acquisitiveness and Secretiveness, deficient moral organs, but a fair development of the anterior lobe. Mr Neal considered that his brain had been injured, and that he was partially idiotic.

The defence was 1st, The deficiency of evidence of the facts; 2dly, The great improbability of the alleged mutilation having been perpetrated by the accused; and 3dly, That his conduct, if according to the accusation, proceeded from injuries sustained by his brain in his infancy. The second defence rested on the trifling nature of the wound, as observed when the boy came home, and the fact that one of Crawford's brothers was deficient naturally in this respect, whence it was probable that this boy was so too. The third defence was supported by medical authorities and testimony.

Mr Neal proposed to put in as evidence, "Spurz-

heim on Insanity," voce Fatuity, p. 104 of the 1st American edition : " Combe's System of Phrenology, case of E. S." &c. ; but he was met by the objection, that in the case of *Ware* v. *Ware*, 8 Grem. l. 56, the Supreme Court had decided, that " medical books of the highest authority" were not competent evidence. He called Dr Jesse W. Mighles as a witness, who testified as follows : " I am a believer in Phrenology as a science. Great changes have taken place in the treatment of insanity, as well as in the mode of dissecting the brain, since that work (Dr Spurzheim's) appeared. I have examined the prisoner's head ; there *is* something remarkable in it,—a very unnatural *depression*. I presume it is congenital. All heads are more or less deficient in symmetry, but the *want* of symmetry *here* is quite remarkable. I have examined it repeatedly before, and had come to the conclusion long ago, before I was called, that some injury had probably happened to it. The right ear is lower than the left, and there is a considerable protuberance on that side. An injury to the muscle of that ear, caused by a fall or blow on the head, might naturally produce these appearances. Certain functions of the brain may cease in consequence of a blow, —the functional power (of a part) may be destroyed, while the rest continue undisturbed. Such is the doctrine of the books, and I believe it."

Cross-examined—" I do not speak of this destruction of the functional power of the brain in part, while other parts continue uninjured, from experience. Change of moral or intellectual character

might appear a twelvemonth after the injury, from irritation or inflammation."

Mr Neal proceeded to ask certain questions at the witness as a phrenologist. The Attorney-General objected, and Mr Neal maintained his right. "At this moment the Court interfered and asked a question, which resulted in a declaration by the witness, that he could not, of his *own knowledge*, say that such and such enlargements of a given organ would produce a correspondent change of character. He *believed*, although he did not *know* of his own knowledge, that a blow on the head might change the character of the individual in some particulars, though it left him unaltered, undisturbed in others."

Justice Emery charged the jury. "He commented in a clear and lucid manner on the whole testimony." "But it is said" (he continued) "that the head has a large peculiar formation called the organ of Destructiveness. There is no disposition to keep out of courts of justice *true* science, but on the contrary to pay it marked deference. If a question were raised here as to a fact committed in the East Indies, and by two persons it should be said to have been full moon at the time, and *astronomers* should be called who should demonstrate from calculations, that there could not have been a full moon at that time, it would be proper evidence for a jury. So, if *dyers* be called as to the effect of chemical combinations upon colours; or if *physicians* be called to shew the effects of poison upon the human frame, such is competent testimony. But when it shall have been demonstrated

by proof like this, that a bump here, or a bump there, shall affect the mind, either to destroy the powers of mind, or decidedly to alter its character, then, and not till then, will such become proper evidence to be submitted to a jury. Where people do not speak from *knowledge*, we cannot suffer *a mere theory* to go as evidence to a jury; especially where one says he is a believer in the system, and has no personal knowledge upon the subject. Our decisions are made in the day-light, and the jury are judges of the law as well as of facts."

The jury found the prisoner guilty on both counts, and sentenced him to nine years' confinement at hard labour in the State Prison at Thomaston. "The boy shewed no emotion. The same downcast look—the same unalterable countenance—the same dull and sleepy eye—the same stoop, and the same half-open mouth characterized him from the first to the last moment of his trial." Mr Neal concludes—"I am sure that he understood little or nothing of what he saw, though he told me he did, appeared grateful, and promised to be a good boy when he got to Thomaston." —"'They give you enough to eat there, don't they?' was his only remark, when told that he should be in prison as long as all his life previous to his sentence."

To Mr Neal is due the merit of being the first barrister, so far as my information extends, who has had the courage to bring Phrenology directly into a court of law, and to plead upon its principles. The case was very unfavourable for him,—first, from the

want of direct evidence of the boy's head having been injured; and, secondly, from Dr Mighles not having had a practical knowledge of the science. Judge Emery's charge was obviously correct, in the circumstances of the case; but the principles which he lays down convey an instructive lesson to phrenological physicians to obtain practical knowledge by observation, and not to rest satisfied with conviction founded on mere testimony or philosophical adaptation. If Dr Mighles had observed nature, he would have been able to describe the peculiarities of the head more accurately and intelligently, and to say positively whether the head was necessarily that of an idiot, or imbecile boy, or not. He would also have been better able to distinguish between a swelling caused by a blow on a muscle, and one arising from the prominence of a part of the skull caused by the development of brain beneath; and, in this latter case, he would have been better able to bear *direct* evidence to the connection subsisting between this fact and the boy's vicious dispositions. If he had possessed practical knowledge, he would have been better able also to distinguish a congenital deformity of head from one caused by an external injury, and to point out the bearing of each of them upon the case before him; and, lastly, he would have spoken with the weight of an observer *interpreting nature*, or narrating facts of which extensive and scientific observation had put him in possession, instead of appearing before the jury as a reader merely, resting his conviction and testimony on statements and ar-

guments contained in books, which books other men of respectable reputation are pleased to treat with ridicule or disrespect. The phrenologists who have observed nature know that, most probably, he was in the right; but they have no direct guarantee that he was so in this individual case (which *they* have not seen), and, consequently, even they must hold the judge fully justified in refusing to place any reliance on such evidence.

In making these remarks, I have in view solely the application of Phrenology to future cases, and do not at all blame Dr Mighles. He probably never contemplated that he would be called on to make such a solemn use of his phrenological knowledge, and he deserves credit for having had the courage to avow his conviction and state his impressions, when judicially summoned to do so, undismayed by that terror of public opinion which makes cowards of so many able men, when the merits of Phrenology are in question.

Jeremy Bentham.—Mr Neal, when a young man, lived for some time in the house of the late Jeremy Bentham in London, and he mentioned the following anecdote of him. "Mr Bentham," said he, "had no objection to be known to the world *precisely as he was*. I frequently amused him for a moment or two by imitating some of his peculiarities of speech, walk, and gesture, and he actually invited Matthews to dine with him, because I thought that a true Bentham on the stage by Matthews would be well received by the public. He regarded it as sitting for a picture,

a live-picture, and was tickled with the idea. What the result of the negotiation between him and Matthews was, I do not know, farther than this, that Matthews never saw him to my knowledge." This occurred in December 1826, and is mentioned in a Memoir of Bentham published by Mr Neal. I told Mr Neal that the cast of Mr Bentham's head, taken after death, shews an excessive development of the organ of Love of Approbation. Mr Neal remarked that Mr B. "would not bear contradiction from any one except Mr Doane the barrister, one of his secretaries, and myself. Every body also flattered him to his face—if not by downright eulogy, by submissiveness or unquestioning acquiescence." There is proof of this in every page of the Memoir above referred to. When he understood that Mr Neal was keeping notes of his conversations, he desired him to write them out every night, and made him read them to him in the morning!

Sept. 18. Ther. 42°. *Phrenology.*—To-day I assisted at the dissection of a brain in presence of Dr Rea, Dr Mighles, Mr Neal, and a number of other gentlemen, who take an interest in Phrenology. Dr Rea mentioned to me that he had attended a woman who became insane on account of the death of her son, and attempted to drown herself. The head was hotter at the organ of Philoprogenitiveness than in any other part. He cupped her at that part, put on a blister and an issue a little below, and cured her. She is now well.

In the evening, at 7 P. M., we left Portland in the

steam-boat for Boston, and sailed past Cape Cottage and the scenes which we had so abundantly enjoyed. We took our last look of them with regret, and breathed forth our best wishes for the success and happiness of our late excellent host and his amiable family. Next morning at seven o'clock, after a prosperous voyage, we entered Boston bay and harbour, and found them bathed in sunshine and beauty, and alive, in every direction, with white sails and gliding forms.

Sept. 23. Ther. 59°. *Hartford in Connecticut.*—We travelled by the railroad from Boston to Worcester, and by the stage from Worcester to Springfield, and thence to Hartford by the Connecticut River, and arrived here after a very pleasant journey. We met with interesting companions in the public vehicles, and were overwhelmed with kindness at Springfield during our brief stay. The country appeared as picturesque and beautiful as it did last year on our first arrival. New England bears well a repeated inspection, nay, a scrutiny.

Phrenology.—It had been my intention, when I came to the United States, to lecture in Baltimore in October of this year, and then to proceed to Cincinnati and Louisville, and deliver courses in these cities during the winters of 1839–40; but, as already mentioned, no class could be mustered in Baltimore, and the same obstacle has presented itself in Cincinnati. Before I left New York in May, Dr Gross, from that city, called for me, and was authorized to announce that I should lecture in Cincinnati, if want-

ed. He gave public notice on his return, but apparently met with so little success that I never heard from him, or from any one else on the subject. I therefore accepted an invitation to deliver a course of twelve lectures on Phrenology in Hartford, one of the two capitals of the state of Connecticut. Its population is about 10,000 persons, who are employed chiefly in trade. I am now preparing for my course.

Advertisements.—The "Courier and Inquirer" of New York states, that, between the 14th September 1838 and the 14th September 1839, it published 143,428 *new* advertisements, or 464 a-day!

The Banks.—The signs of coming adversity are thickening. The United States Bank continued selling bills of exchange on London at par (9½ per cent.), when the banks in New York demanded and obtained 10 and 10½, or from 10s. to 20s. per cent. of premium. This excited much speculation, and a new occurrence has raised this into astonishment. The United States Bank has lately sold its own post notes, payable at long dates, in Boston, to the extent of $800,000, at a discount equal to 16 and 18 per cent. per annum. The sales were readily effected, as the credit of the bank was undoubted; but the seller proceeded to the Boston banks, in whose notes the purchases were paid for, and immediately drew specie from them for the whole amount! This, it is said, has been shipped to England to enable the bank's agent there to retire its drafts sold to the public at par! The effect has been to paralyze trade in Boston. The banks, drained of their specie, are

contracting their issues, and fearing farther disasters. The shares of the United States Bank, which were lately sold at $118 for the share of $100, have now fallen to par.

Miss Martineau and the Ladies of Boston.—Miss Martineau has excited great indignation in New England by certain expressions in her book, which are here interpreted to amount to an accusation of drinking against the ladies of Boston. We have never seen any thing that could lead us to suspect the existence of such a vice; and have inquired what could give rise to the statement. One of our chance fellow-passengers, who is extensively acquainted in that city and New York, said that she knew some American ladies who indulge in as many as three glasses of wine after dinner, and then, by means of lavender and cordials, support a state of artificial excitement during the remainder of the evening. "This," she said, "I call drinking." I must leave the ladies to settle this delicate point among themselves; I can only testify that it was not my fortune to meet with any of these excited fair ones, in any part of New England.

Sept. 24. Ther. 46°. *The Amistad Africans.*—The case of the Africans, captured in the "long, low, black schooner" in Long Island Sound, is exciting an extraordinary degree of interest. The advocates of abolition represent them as heroes who have nobly risen against their oppressors, and recovered their freedom at the hazard of their lives; while the patrons of slavery designate them as pirates, mur-

derers, and banditti, and call for their trial and execution. We visited them this day in the jail of Hartford, in which they have been placed, waiting the disposal of the courts of law. They are all young, and three of them are children. Several seemed to be in bad health, but the rest were robust and cheerful. They are genuine Africans, and little more than three months have elapsed since they left their native shores. Their heads present great varieties of form as well as of size. Several have small heads, even for Africans; some short and broad heads, with high foreheads, but with very little longitudinal extent in the anterior lobe. Their leader Cinquez or Jinquez, who killed the captain of the schooner, is a well-made man of 24 or 25 years of age. His head is long from the front to the back, and rises high above the ear, particularly in the regions of Self-Esteem, and Firmness. The breadth is moderate, and Destructiveness is large, but not excessive. Benevolence and Veneration are well marked, and rise above the lateral organs; but the coronal region altogether is narrow. The anterior lobe also is narrow; but it is long from front to back. The middle perpendicular portion, including Comparison and Eventuality, is decidedly large. Individuality is full. The temperament seems to be nervous-bilious. This size and form of brain indicate considerable mental power, decision, self-reliance, prompt perception, and readiness of action.

The Supreme Court of Connecticut has just decided that it has no jurisdiction over these Africans,

and that it lies within the district court to dispose of them. They are well treated, and defended by able counsel, who are paid by public subscriptions.

It is impossible to look without horror and indignation on these young and unoffending men and children deprived of their liberty, reduced to slavery, and converted into mere "property," by *Christians;* I say by Christians, because I have no doubt that if any one were to deny that their reputed owner, who also is here, or his advocates in the American press, were Christians, he would be prosecuted for a libel on their religious character!

Sept. 25. Ther. 52°. *The Militia.*—There was a grand muster of militia here to-day. Some of the companies looked quite military; while others certainly were only citizen-soldiers in appearance. The mounted officers, dressed in blue coats and white breeches, with abundance of lace, large cocked hats and white feathers, by dint of galloping and prancing supported their military pretensions extremely well. I feel a respect for citizen-soldiers, notwithstanding their awkwardness, because they are powerless for evil and aggression, and become always the more formidable the more real occasion there is for their services.

The Late War.—These soldiers remind me of a "history of the late war (that of 1812) between the United States and Great Britain, by H. M. Brackenridge,"* which I have read. It is ably and temperately written. I heard a distinguished American

* It has gone through six large editions, and is now stereotyped.

citizen remark as follows in reference to this war: "We had abundance of provocation to justify it, but I never could help regretting the time we took to declare it. We had suffered great injuries both from the French and the British, which we had long submitted to; and there was something ungenerous to my feelings in our selecting that moment (the 19th of June 1812) to commence it. Napoleon was then at the summit of his power, and was marching, as every one believed, to the subjugation of Russia, while England alone maintained the cause of humanity and freedom. We chose that moment to join the side of the conqueror, and throw our weight into the scale against Britain." This observation appeared to me to express admirably the real merits of the question which party was to blame for the commencement of that contest. The war itself was conducted by us in the worst spirit. The battles on the lakes, the bombarding and ravaging of the towns on the Atlantic coast, the burning of the capitol at Washington, and the conflicts between single ships, chiefly frigates, had, every one of them, the tendency to inflict misery on individuals, and to kindle the most rancorous feelings between the nations, but to decide nothing. After having been on the field of some of these battles, and read the narratives of all of them, and having contrasted the small numbers of men engaged in them, (from 500 to 3000), with the enormous extent of territory and resources of the United States and of Britain, they reminded me of nothing but two furious women scratching each other's cheeks and

tearing each other's hair. They bore no reasonable relation to the only conceivable object of war, that of compelling either nation to yield. The attack by the British on New Orleans appears to me to have been the only part of their operations that was worthy of their fame ; I mean the object aimed at in that enterprise, and not the manner in which it was conducted. If the British had captured New Orleans and closed the Mississippi, they might have occasioned serious embarrassment to the Americans; but so far as I can discover, no other of their projects, although successful, would have carried any important consequences in its train. The command of the Canada lakes would have enabled them to defend that province, which however was in no danger from the Americans, for their force never was capable of making conquests. Victory on the lakes might have enabled the British to retard the settlement of some of the American Western States, but only in a small degree, for they were accessible by the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Wabash, independently of the lake navigation.

The British of those days seem to have been actuated by an unbecoming hatred and contempt of the Americans. This last feeling led to most of the defeats which they sustained, both by land and sea; and the same sentiment still lingers among many of the British aristocracy, who exercise a great influence over the destinies of England. I have already explained, vol. ii. p 117, that the Americans are really a war-loving if not a warlike nation, and it would be well that the British understood their real character.

It may appear to be an unpatriotic opinion, but my impression is, that, in a fair combat, either by sea or land, of man to man, and gun to gun, the Americans, after acquiring discipline and experience, would beat the British; and the reasons of my opinion are these—The two nations belong to the same stock, and are equal in physical organization. The instinct of self-preservation is the motive which induces men to shun danger and to run from a fight, and bravery is in proportion to the motives which can be thrown into the opposite scale. The masses which compose fleets and armies are drawn from the humbler classes of society. In Britain, these have little education, no sphere of political action, no influential compatriots to sound their praises or to cover them with shame on their return as conquerors or cowards. They have no field of ambition to excite their individual energies before they become soldiers or sailors, and when they have embraced these professions the road to high preferment is closed against them. Their motives to fight, therefore, are derived from their native force of character and discipline. In native qualities the Americans are their equals, and in all other motives, except discipline, their superiors. There is more mental activity, a greater range of interests and ideas, a more influential public opinion, and a far wider field of ambition, operating in the case of the American seaman, militia-man, and volunteer, than in that of the British sailor or soldier. The discipline on shore will at first be inferior in the Americans; because the British constitution renders discipline almost natural to British soldiers, while that of America

trains her population to an aversion to subordination. At the commencement of a war, therefore; the British, with equal numbers, will be more than a match for the Americans; but every day will diminish the disparity. The singular feature, in the case of the Americans, is, that victory or defeat equally tends to increase their belligerent efficiency. A large and influential portion of the people was at first opposed to the war of 1812 against England, and some of the New England States actually refused to march their militia towards Canada on the requisition of the General Government; but first the triumphs of the American frigates, and finally the burning of the capitol at Washington, and the ravaging of their coasts, rendered them not only unanimous but enthusiastically devoted to the war; and if it had continued longer, their energy and efficiency would have rapidly increased.

The Americans are engaged in avocations which prosper most in peace; they are devoted to gain, and averse to subjection to authority. As formerly observed, therefore, although they are full of warlike predilections, these circumstances present strong practical checks on their indulging in the gratifications of war. Add to these impediments the fact, that, after one of the political parties has identified itself with a war, its opponents will make "political capital" out of every thing connected with it; in other words, however just or necessary hostilities may be, they will operate on the feelings of the people against the war, for the sake of destroying their political adversaries. Thus, immediately after the commencement of a contest, and while it is yet known

to the people chiefly in the form of burdensome taxes, interruption to trade, and destruction of credit, there will always be a powerful opposition to it, and great distraction in the national councils. At this stage of hostilities the United States Government will appear powerless, and the Union seem to be on the eve of dissolution; but only let the contest fairly begin, and let either victory or defeat visit the American arms, and in the exact ratio of the pressure from without will be the condensation of public sentiment within. In short, the American nation, like a steel spring, seems to have no energy when it is fully expanded, but it gathers strength with every ounce of pressure that is applied to it. Its territory is so vast, and its climates so various, that it forms a world within itself; and although a European maritime war would cause great loss and misery to the Atlantic cities, it could not materially affect, far less permanently destroy, the general prosperity of the Union.

I sincerely trust that the days of war between the United States and Britain are gone by, never to return; but if the mad passions of either should provoke hostilities, Britain seems to me to have only one course to pursue that will effectually lead to peace. She should act not only justly but generously in the conduct of the war, so as to enlist the sympathies of the good in America in her favour; she should avoid all petty attacks that would serve to irritate public sentiment without the possibility of producing any great results; never engage the Americans without a force sufficient to ensure victory; block up their ports,

and leave them without petty injuries to excite resentment, without victories to gratify national vanity, and without the pressure of external danger to alarm them for their national safety: in short, let the war be conducted as one of blockading on the sea coast, and self-defence in Canada, and not as one of attack and aggression, and the Americans will sooner come to reason under this administration than under any other. They will suffer loss and annoyance, and yet have no strong passion excited to counterbalance the irritation which these will produce. They are a people impatient of small evils, but capable of meeting great ones with a heroic spirit. They cannot aggressively injure Britain; for their whole institutions render them feeble for conquest; and their attempts on Canada, unless aided by the native population, would be easily repelled. Even should they conquer that province, it is more than probable that they would render as essential a service to the British nation as they did when they achieved their own independence. I repeat, however, that a war between these two nations would be a disgrace to the civilization of the nineteenth century, and an event which every enlightened American and Briton must deprecate and deplore.

The New England Voice.—It has frequently been remarked, that the people of the New England States have a peculiar intonation of voice, which distinguishes them from Europeans and other Americans; but I have rarely found any of themselves who recognised the difference. They have occasionally asked me to define it, which it was not easy to do; but I found

this method the shortest and most successful with them on this point. I said, "Do you discover that I am Scotch?" "Yes, very easily." "How?" "By your tone, accent, and manner." "Then, by the same means, I discover that you are Yankee; and your peculiarities are as strongly marked as mine." They comprehended this illustration at once. Their voice is nasal, hard, and unmusical, except when corrected by a refined education.

Sept. 27. Ther. 38°. *Phrenology.*—Dr Brigham kindly undertook the arrangement of the course of lectures in Hartford. The number of lectures has been reduced from sixteen to twelve, of two hours each, and the fee from five to three dollars. I delivered the first lecture this evening, and the attendance was fifty subscribers, twenty visiters, and twelve complimentary hearers. At 6 P. M. the thermometer stood at 65°, a rise of 27° since the morning.

Sept. 29. Ther. 40°. *Sunday.*—We heard the Rev. Mr Gallaudet preach a sound but moderate orthodox discourse in the Rev. Dr Hawes' church. Dr Hawes is a Presbyterian congregationalist, and has a large church, well filled, and a most respectable congregation. Connecticut has retained her Calvinism more unbroken than perhaps any other State in the Union. There are now, however, both Unitarian and Universalist congregations within her boundaries. She is celebrated also for the severity of her ancient moral and religious code, known under the name of "the Blue laws;" and although there has been a great relaxation in modern times, a trace of the olden spirit is still discernible. The

250th hymn, used in the church which we attended to-day, contains these lines :—

" Awake and mourn, ye heirs of hell ;
Let stubborn sinners fear,
Ye must be driven from earth, and dwell,
A long for-ever, there.
See how the pit gapes wide for you,
And flashes in your face ;
And thou, my soul, look downward too,
And sing recovering grace."

These lines embody the very soul of Destructiveness and Self-Esteem.

Education and Phrenology.—This State possesses a large school-fund, the produce of western lands claimed by Connecticut under an old title, and allowed by Congress ; but she has yet made small progress in applying it systematically and with effect. The Legislature, however, has appointed a superintendent of public schools ; and Mr Barnard, the gentleman who now holds the office, entertains enlightened views on the subject of education, and is anxious to improve not only the mode of teaching, but the things taught in the common schools of the State. He had heard of the value attached to my lectures on Phrenology in relation to education, in the three great cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and regretted that so small a number of the inhabitants of Hartford had taken an interest in them.

Several causes are mentioned as accounting for this circumstance. Two itinerant phrenologists have commenced lectures in Hartford since my course was announced ; one of them lectures free, as an inducement to the people to pay him fees for examining

their heads; and another admits the public at a very low price. The free lectures are crowded, and those for which a fee is demanded are slenderly attended. Besides these two, there have been other phrenological lecturers here during the summer, who have fleeced the people of their money, and left little knowledge in its stead. Farther, the people are accustomed to hear lectures free, and have no idea of paying any serious sum for instruction. They are treated to a new topic, if not a new lecturer, every night, and do not comprehend the advantage of following out any subject in a scientific form, through a series of lectures. Besides, they are all able to read and write; and between scraps of information picked up from these desultory lectures, from newspapers, and from the speeches of politicians, and the absence of any class possessing high literary or philosophical attainments, they believe themselves to be exceedingly well informed. Finally, the propagation of opinion, except on political subjects, is difficult and slow in the United States. Every State presents a focus of interests that engage the chief attention of its own citizens; while every town and hamlet has a set of particular interests that excite contests and discussions, and fill the local newspapers with small details. Hence, the great body of the people of Hartford, although readers of newspapers, seem to know little of the interest excited among the friends of education by my lectures in the large cities, although two of them, Boston and New York, are little more than a hundred miles distant from Hartford; or if they know, they pay little deference to the

opinions expressed in these cities. I mention these facts, not from feelings of individual vanity or disappointment, but because they are illustrative of the condition of the public mind, and are not confined to Hartford, but are general over the Union. I have found by experience, that moral opinion travels more rapidly and certainly in Great Britain and Ireland. So little progress has yet been made by the people of the United States in regard to a correct appreciation of what constitutes a good education, and of its value to them, that an opposition is at this moment hatching in Massachusetts against the Board of Education of that State, which is described in vol. i. p. 68. Some Democratic politicians hope to catch a few votes by persuading the ignorant that that system of State-education is an infringement of private rights; they maintain that a free people have a right to educate their children in their own way, without superintendence; for they cannot say that the Board of Education exercises any control over them; it has no power except that of moral suasion. The Board may recommend, but cannot enforce any thing. Some divines also, I am told, in that State, are sounding the alarm among their flocks, that the Board of Education is the harbinger of infidelity.

Oct. 1. Ther. 32°. *Phrenology.*—Having been requested by Mr Barnard to repeat my first and second lectures to the members of the Young Men's Institute, and to admit them to the course on reduced terms, I agreed to do so, and gave him *carte blanche* as to terms. This evening I delivered the first lecture to them free, and was honoured with an attend-

ance of 360 ladies and gentlemen. Mr Barnard addressed them after the lecture, told them that arrangements had been made, by which they might be admitted to the whole course on their paying one dollar, and that the lecture-fund of the Institute would pay 50 cents additional for each who should attend; and he recommended to them to avail themselves of the opportunity of hearing the philosophy of phrenology and its application to education explained.

Oct. 2. Ther. 40°. This evening I repeated my second lecture to the members of the Young Men's Institute, and thirty-five individuals attended.

The People of Connecticut.—In conversing with a gentleman from a neighbouring State about the population of Connecticut, I was told that their Calvinistic education, and external circumstances, had rendered them moral, industrious, and frugal; so much so that they are distinguished for the absence of serious crimes, for general propriety of deportment, and for the comfort and respectability of their outward circumstances; but that they are accused by their neighbours of some degree of narrow-mindedness.* Like the Americans in general, however, although they are keen in the pursuit of wealth, and economical in its application, they are generous when an object which excites their sympathies is presented to them. They contribute handsomely to charitable institutions. Dr Howe mentioned that he raised

* I see no reason to question that these effects may be produced by Calvinism in a certain state of society, when acting on favourably constituted minds; but I doubt whether they will be its general results, especially when operating on an enlightened people in an advanced stage of civilization.

$1200 here very easily for the Institution for the Blind in Boston; and this year $2200 were raised by a "ladies' fair" for charitable purposes. Twenty hearers of a favourite minister subscribed $300, purchased a pianoforte, and presented it to his daughter. There is a "sewing society" also in this town, consisting of young ladies, who meet once a-week at each other's houses, at 2 P.M., and sew and gossip till 7 o'clock, when a number of young gentlemen drop in and close the evening with music and a dance. They have adopted an orphan child, which is boarded, clothed, and educated at their expense; their needlework providing the necessary funds. I was told that they avoid waltzing, and even playing waltzes, these being regarded as sinful.

Religious Denominations in Connecticut.—The population of this State is estimated at upwards of 300,000. Its sects are the following:—"The Congregationalists have 232 churches, 277 ministers, including 49 who have no pastoral charge, and about 40,000 communicants. The Calvinistic Baptists have 98 churches, 77 ordained ministers, 20 licentiates, and upwards of 10,000 communicants. The Episcopalians have 63 ministers, and about 7000 members. The Methodists had, in 1833, 40 ministers, and 7000 members. There is a considerable number of Universalist Societies, two Unitarian, two or three Roman Catholic, several Free-will Baptist, a few Friends, a few Sandemanians, and one Society of Shakers."—*Chronicle of the Church, Newhaven, 18th Oct.* 1839.

Oct. 4. Ther. 54°. *The Politicians.*—The Whigs and Democrats are equally dishonest as politicians, that is to say, they flatter, coax, and mislead the people to get into power; but they pass better laws, and act on purer principles, when assembled in the Legislature, than any one could expect, judging from their conduct while candidates for office. The explanation is, that all profess the love of virtue and the people; and, when in power, they feel that any flagrant dishonesty, or unprincipled selfishness, would instantly be exposed by their opponents, and made use of as a lever to turn them out of place. The corruption, moreover, is chiefly in the towns. The farmers and country voters are deceived or misled, but not bribed. They look at the conduct of their rulers without bias or blind partiality; and even the most unprincipled politicians are afraid to commit too glaring iniquities before their eyes. In all the States this class is composed, to a great extent, of proprietors of the soil; and it forms a large proportion of the constituency of the whole United States. If it were better educated, it would serve as a sheet-anchor to their institutions; and even in its present condition of imperfect enlightenment, it arrests the politicians of either party when their measures have obviously deviated too far from the line of common sense, and especially from that which leads to public prosperity.

Oct. 9. Ther. 48°. *Fires.*—There have been two enormous fires in New York and Philadelphia. The loss in New York is stated at $1,000,000 of dollars, and that in Philadelphia at $1,400,000.

Mrs Sigourney.—I borrow the following remarks

from C——'s journal:—"We have several times seen Mrs Sigourney, the American Hemans, and spent an evening at her house. Her history is very interesting, and would prepossess one in her favour, even although disjoined from the talents she has shewn. She was a pattern of filial piety, and in the other relations of life has been not less exemplary. One evidence of her excellent qualities is presented by the many warm and sincere friends whom she has attached. Her appearance is pleasing, and her manners entirely natural and unassuming. Her talent for poetry was manifested at a very early age, and was promising even from the first, though a comparison of her juvenile productions with those of her matured intellect shews a considerable improvement. She resembles Mrs Hemans in being eminently the poetess of the affections; every object and incident creative of human sentiment, or ministering to attachment, finds a responsive note on her truly sweet and feminine lyre. Her prose works, on education and other kindred topics, deserve, and have obtained, a conspicuous place in the literature of her country; and, whatever the merits of her writings may be comparatively with those of other authors, she may justly claim the praise of never having published a line which morality or gentle womanhood need blush to own. She conducts a periodical named the 'Religious Souvenir,' of which I have not had an opportunity of judging; but it is popular, and, I believe, has a wide circulation."

Oct. 10. Ther. 54°. *The Bank Suspensions.*—News have arrived that the United States Bank, and

most of the banks of Pennsylvania and Maryland, have suspended cash payments. The United States Bank-stock has fallen to $97 in New York, and the utmost consternation prevails. In Hartford the public mind is quiet, and they have confidence in their own banks, but a deep anxiety is visible on the countenances of the men of property. The banks are prohibited by law from paying dividends during their suspension; and as the losses of the fire insurance companies will suspend their dividends, many persons whose capital is invested in the stocks of these institutions, will suffer great privation through the want of their incomes. Besides, the commercial transactions of the whole Union are deeply affected by the derangement of the exchange. The arrival of every post and steam-boat from New York is watched with intense anxiety, to learn whether the banks in that city mean to suspend.

It may be proper to mention, for the information of readers who are not old enough to recollect the suspension of specie payments by the Bank of England, that a bank-suspension does not necessarily imply a bankruptcy. The Pennsylvania banks proceed with their business as usual, only they decline to pay specie for their obligations. The consequence is, that their bank-notes are at eleven per cent. discount in New York, where the banks continue to redeem their obligations in gold.

The Deaf and Dumb.—I conversed with the Rev. Mr Gallaudet, who for many years was the principal of the American Asylum for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, about the mental condition of these

individuals, and he dissented from Miss Martineau's views regarding them, expressed in one of her works on America. He considers that the knowledge which they possess, if well educated, is both extensive and precise; and that, if they are well trained, they are in general amiable and happy in their dispositions.

Phrenology: Natural Language.—Every propensity and sentiment of the mind, when *predominantly* active, produces a peculiar tone in the voice, expression in the eye and countenance, and also a peculiar attitude and gait. This is the natural language by which its activity is made known, and, when strongly marked, it is recognised and understood in all ages and countries. Lavater's system of physiognomy was founded on this fact in nature; but it was imperfect, because he did not know the primitive faculties which the various expressions noted by him indicated, and he also introduced, as signs of mental character, the hard parts of the face, which do not owe their forms to the state of the brain. Phrenology reveals the functions of the primitive faculties, and enables us to connect peculiar expressions of voice, countenance, and gait, with the active condition of particular powers, and also of particular groups of them, and thus renders physiognomy, or natural language, a branch of the philosophy of mind. The Rev. Mr Gallaudet, without the aid of phrenology, but from extensive practical observation and experience, has been led to the conclusion that these natural signs may be taught with manifest advantage to children in general, as a branch of education. In the Literary and Theological Review,

No. II., for June 1834, he published an article entitled "On the Language of Signs" as "auxiliary to the Christian Missionary." "It is quite practicable," says he, "to convey by the countenance, signs, and gestures, the import not only of all the terms employed to denote the various objects of nature and art, and the multifarious business and concerns of common life, but also those relating to the process of abstraction and generalization, to the passions and emotions of the heart, and to the powers and faculties of the understanding; or, in other words, the language of the countenance, signs, and gestures, is an accurate, significant, and copious medium of thought. Instances have occurred in the instruction of the deaf and dumb, in which, in the space of two years, 5000 words have been taught to several intelligent pupils, who were previously entirely ignorant of them and *of all language*, excepting that of their own natural signs, together with a command of written language, which would place them on an equality, with regard to the expression of their ideas, with the most intelligent persons among those heathen nations who have nothing but an oral language."

These views are not, in his case, purely theoretical, but founded on experience. He adduces some examples in support of them. "In the summer of 1818, a Chinese young man passed through Hartford, Connecticut. He was so ignorant of the English language that he could not express in it his most common wants. As principal of the deaf and dumb asylum of that place, I invited the stranger to spend an evening within its walls, and introduced him to

Mr Laurent Clerc, the celebrated deaf and dumb pupil of the Abbé Sicard, and at that time an assistant-teacher in the asylum. The object of this introduction was to ascertain to what extent Mr Clerc, who was entirely ignorant of the Chinese language, could conduct an intelligent conversation with the foreigner by signs and gestures merely. The result of the experiment surprised all who were present. Mr Clerc learned from the Chinese many interesting facts respecting the place of his nativity, his parents and their family, his former pursuits in his own country, his residence in the United States, and his notions regarding God and a future state. By the aid of appropriate signs also, Mr Clerc ascertained the meaning of about twenty Chinese words." P. 201. I asked Mr Gallaudet how he knew that Mr Clerc's inferences were correct, and he told me that in this and all the other instances mentioned in the article in question, he had ascertained either from interpreters or dictionaries that they were so.

"About a year afterwards," he adds, "I visited Cornwall, in Connecticut, where upwards of twenty heathen youths were at that time receiving education under the patronage of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions." He propounded questions to them by signs. "For example: Thomas Hoopoo, a native of Owhyhee, was asked if his parents were living; how many brothers and sisters he had; when he left his native shores; whether his countrymen worshipped idols and sacrificed human victims; how the women were treated by the men; what was the climate of his country; what its

productions; with many inquiries of a similar nature, all of which he well comprehended, and to many of which he replied by signs. The meaning, too, of a number of Owhyhean words was ascertained by signs merely, and found to correspond with the import which had been previously assigned to them in a dictionary which had been for some time preparing in the school; and, indeed, in a variety of instances, the most correct meaning of such words was established, by the medium of signs, in a more satisfactory way than had been previously attempted."

" Opportunities have occurred of intercourse by signs between the native Indians of our country, who have visited the institution for the deaf and dumb, and the instructors (of the pupils), the results of which, in a greater or less degree, have corresponded with those mentioned above."

" May not this curious language of signs and gestures be made subservient to the speedy acquisition of the oral language of people who have no written or printed language by the Christian missionary, or to the communication to them of his own language, or to their mutual intercourse with each other, not only on ordinary, but on the most momentous topics, even while they are entirely ignorant of each other's spoken language ?"

To many persons these representations may appear almost incredible, but I obtained some explanations which render them more comprehensible. Mr Gallaudet conversed by signs with the Africans of the Amistad, and learned many particulars of their history and opinions, and afterwards ascertained from an

interpreter of their language that his inferences were correct. For example, to discover whether they recognised a God, he assumed the natural language of veneration, looked up as if beseeching and adoring, and pointed to the sky. "Goolly!" said the Africans. "Goolly! Goolly!" then looking grave, they imitated thunder, uttering the words "Goolly—Bung! Bung!" There could be no doubt that they gave their name for God.

The exposition of the natural language of the faculties given in my lectures, led to these remarks. Mr Galluadet considers that it would essentially benefit children to teach them the natural language of the faculties at the time when they learn to read. The meaning of many words, particularly those which signify emotions, could be conveyed to them more effectually by this medium than by any other. In exhibiting the natural language of any faculty, the faculty itself is called into action, and teaching the natural language will thus become an important auxiliary in training children to virtue. He has the testimony of his own experience in favour of this view. In shewing to his deaf and dumb pupils the natural language of Benevolence, Veneration, and the other higher sentiments, he was conscious that these faculties became more active and were cultivated in himself. In his pupils the effect was equally decisive. When they were out of humour, the bland look of Benevolence, and the resigned expression of Veneration, if perseveringly exhibited to them, rarely failed to restore their equanimity and cheerfulness.

I owe to Mr Gallaudet the first clear view of the

importance of natural language in common education.

A great part of his natural language is the same with that taught by phrenologists, both being drawn from nature.*

Many years ago Mr Gallaudet went to Edinburgh to study under Mr Kinniburgh, the teacher of the deaf and dumb in that city; but Mr Braidwood had placed him under a bond, with a large penalty, not to instruct teachers for eight years. He and the directors threw open the institution to Mr Gallaudet, and allowed him to see every thing, including the lessons that were given to the pupils, but they observed the terms of the bond, and gave him no direct instruction. He then went to Paris and studied under the Abbé Sicard. His system of signs is described in the Encyclopædia Americana. Mr G. prefers the single-hand alphabet. It is as precise and expressive as the double-hand alphabet, and can be used when one hand is disabled or otherwise employed.

Oct. 12. Ther. 48°. *The Temperaments.*—To-day I gave an exercise on the temperaments, which was well attended. The predominating temperaments were the sanguine-bilious and the nervous-bilious: There were a few instances of nervous-bilious-lymphatic.

Taxes.—The revenue of the General Government

* In visiting the institution for the deaf and dumb, I mentioned to Mr Gallaudet that, when a boy attending the High School of Edinburgh, I had learned the finger-alphabet, and could use it readily, but that my mother had told me that speaking with the fingers was forbidden in Scripture, and I had given it up and forgotten it. He was surprised to hear of this prohibition; but he subsequently found the verse to which I alluded in Proverbs, ch. vi. v. 12—"A naughty person, a wicked man, walketh with a froward mouth. He winketh with his eyes, he speaketh with his feet, *he teacheth with his fingers.*"

of the United States is almost all derived from Custom-House duties, the Post-Office, and sales of public lands. The taxes paid to the particular States, and also to the counties and townships, are raised in a very simple manner. Select men, or assessors, are appointed in different districts by the citizens. They estimate the whole property, real and personal, of each individual. In Connecticut the annual revenue of the property thus estimated is assumed to be six per cent., and the taxes are imposed in the form of an income-tax on it. The sum total of *all* the taxes payable in Connecticut, exclusive of the duties to the United States' Government, amounts to about four per cent. on this estimated revenue. The select men are changed from time to time, and the circumstances of each citizen are so well known that the assessments on the whole are fairly imposed. The rule generally followed is to assume a pretty large amount of property to belong to each individual, and to leave him to prove by his books and affidavit that the estimate is too high. Assuming the whole free property of a citizen to amount to $20,000, or L.4000 Sterling, the revenue of this sum at six per cent. would be $1200; four per cent. on which would amount to $48, or nearly L.10 Sterling, being the aggregate amount of all the taxes on an income of L.240 Sterling per annum.

Oct. 13. Ther. 54°. *Sunday.*—We heard a sound orthodox discourse in Dr Hawes' Church from a young clergyman, but were disappointed in not hearing Dr Hawes himself. An American gentleman, who had travelled much on the Continent of Europe, and to

whom I remarked the similarity which exists between a Sunday in Scotland and in Connecticut, observed, that he had been much struck at first with the difference of a Continental Sabbath from both. If a French family, said he, of the most respectable character, should come from Paris to Connecticut, and follow here the practices which they had been accustomed to observe from their infancy at home on Sundays, they would, by our laws, be liable to fine and imprisonment, and if they did not take warning in time, they might, by an accidental outburst of popular feeling, be chased out of the State, or lynched! The kingdom of heaven, we may hope, will ultimately receive at least all the Christian nations, if not the whole family of mankind; and it appears strange that they should find it so difficult to tolerate each other's habits on earth!

Oct. 15. Ther. 51°. *Effects of the Institutions of England and America.*—I lately conversed with an American gentleman, the father of a family and the owner of a princely estate, all cleared and improved, on the different effects which the institutions of England and those of the United States produce on men placed in circumstances like his. We were led to the conversation by reading the remarks of Baron Perignon, in his "Vingt Jours à Londres," at the coronation of Queen Victoria, in which he says—"Here I make an observation which relates to the manners of this country of aristocracy and liberty, and which establishes an immense difference between them and the French. In France, the two cries of the Revolution were, no privileges

(point de privilèges), equality for all (pour tous l'égalité). In England, on the contrary, all is privilege, and one may almost say that there is no equality. In this country, each has his rank, each his caste,—he looks above and below him, that he may not step too high, nor descend too low; and there is no condition, however bad it may be, in which he does not find something to satisfy his pride in being able to class himself above some other person." The "Court Journal" of 11th May 1839, after quoting this passage, adds—"These remarks are certainly well founded. England is essentially an aristocratic country;—every class is an aristocracy of itself, forming, as it were, an 'imperium in imperio,' preserving its own importance, and affecting an exclusiveness as respects those of lower station. It is the extensive prevalence of this principle that precludes the possibility of equality, and which is a bar to that familiarity which exists in France, and prevails, indeed, even between domestics and those they serve."

I asked my friend, who had been in Britain, what, if his princely domain had been situated in England, the great object of his ambition would have been? "Tell me your opinion first," said he. "Well, then," said I, "in all probability you would have been intriguing at court, or throwing your whole influence into the scale of one or other of the political parties, and bargaining for a peerage, to gratify your vanity. You would have executed an entail to transmit your property to your eldest son and his heirs;—and, in short, you would have been occupied chiefly with projects of private or family ambition."

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He replied, that "he could well understand the powerful influence of the English institutions in giving a selfish direction to the ambition of an individual placed in circumstances like his, and in inducing him to attempt to secure high rank to himself, and permanent wealth to his remote posterity; but that in the United States all such projects would be visionary dreams. Our institutions," he continued, "produce a higher aim. I know perfectly that, under them, my property must be divided. It will make all my own children rich; but it will be again subdivided among their children; and in less than a century it will, in all probability, have passed entirely into other hands, and no trace of it as a domain, or of us as a family, in the English sense, will be left. This makes me feel that I can best serve my posterity by employing my present influence in improving the institutions and general condition of my country. If the United States shall preserve their freedom, and increase in intelligence and virtue, as it is my earnest desire that they should do, then I know that my posterity will enjoy the best field for the exercise of their own talents and virtues, and that every one of them will command that extent of fortune, consideration, and happiness, which his qualities will deserve; and I desire for them no better inheritance."

In point of fact, the effect is precisely what is here described. This gentleman exercises a generous and refined hospitality, without pretension or parade, and devotes his time and fortune to the improvement of the public institutions of the State in which he

resides. Among other objects, he has aided very efficiently the friends of education, in obtaining a law passed which provides for the establishment of a library in connexion with every common school district. He appeared to me to be a nobler character than an Englishman scrambling for a peerage, as the reward of political subserviency, to gratify his individual ambition.

The Eglinton Tournament.—At the time when the preceding conversation occurred, the New York newspapers contained pretty extensive reports of the Eglinton Tournament. The ordinary Americans, who have no distinct notion of the state of society in Britain, cannot comprehend it. How any men, not insane, could expend such large sums of money in such pure Tom-foolery, appears to them very mysterious. The intelligent Americans express their gratitude to Providence that they have no titled and wealthy aristocracy to play such childish and fantastic tricks, and ask me whether there are not numerous poor and ignorant persons in Scotland for whose instruction L.40,000 or L.50,000 might have been better employed than in getting up this pageant. "The tyranny of public opinion" would prevent any similar waste of resources in the United States, although individuals could be found willing to indulge in it.

Education in the State of New York.—One of the most common errors, in my opinion, committed by foreigners who write about America, as well as by the Americans themselves, is greatly to over-estimate the educational attainments of the people. The provision in money made by the law for the instruction

of all classes is large compared with such countries as Britain or Austria, but, contrasted with what is necessary to bestow a really good education on the people, it is still very deficient. The farmers, for example, are indisposed to dispense with the services of their older children, during the busy season of agricultural labour, nor are they generally in circumstances to admit of it. It is extremely difficult, therefore, to keep open district schools (except for very young children, taught by females for a small compensation) for more than four or five months in the year. A school district in the rural parts of New York State contains only from ten to twenty families. Allowing $350 or $400 per annum to be a moderate remuneration for a qualified teacher (and this is less than a carpenter or blacksmith would earn), it is nearly impossible to raise this amount from so small a number of persons, most of whom are in moderate circumstances. At present, the sum raised for the salaries of common school teachers is only $12. 50 cents (or L.2, 13s.) per month for each teacher, this being, according to the report of the superintendent of common schools, the average compensation given in the State of New York in 1836 to male teachers. If the people would have properly qualified teachers, the sum that would need to be raised is from $70 to $100 per month, for each of them, as the school term might be longer or shorter. This the people will not pay, and the consequence is, that the education received by probably nineteen-twentieths of the children, in the agricultural districts, owing to the condition of most of the common schools, is defective in

the extreme; nor can there be any decided improvement in the condition of the schools without an improvement in salary, and in the literary attainments and professional skill of the teachers.

To supply, in some degree, this great defect, a law was passed in the State of New York, about four years ago, empowering each school-district in the State to tax itself to the amount of $20 for the first year, and $10 for each subsequent year, for the purchase of books for a district library. There are 10,207 districts in the whole State, and the work of forming these libraries is begun by the friends of education, and is a popular measure. Some of the clergy, however, object to it, because it appears to assume that "the mere intellectual instruction of a community will necessarily tend to reform that community," a principle which they do not admit.*

Phrenology enables us to perceive that intellectual instruction will not cultivate the moral and religious sentiments, and that only sedulous training, added to intellectual instruction, will lead to virtuous conduct. The Americans need proper normal schools in which their teachers may be instructed in the philosophy of mind, and in the art of training and teaching, and they must also pay them handsomely before they will command good education. If the Americans were animated by an enlightened patriotism, they would submit to a large taxation to accomplish this object, because on its fulfilment will depend the future peace and prosperity of their country.

A few years ago Mr Robert Cunningham, for-

* See the American Annals of Education, vol. vii. p. 441.

merly Principal of the Edinburgh Institution for Languages, Mathematics, &c., a full account of which is given in President Bache's interesting Report on Education in Europe, was compelled by the state of his health to relinquish his situation. Having spent his two months' vacation in 1835 in visiting the principal schools of Prussia, and the same period of the subsequent year in an educational tour in France and Switzerland, he had become deeply interested in the subject of Normal Schools, and on the failure of his health, partly with a view to its recovery, and partly in the hope of being instrumental in introducing Normal Schools into America, he visited the United States. After travelling over the Eastern and Middle States, and visiting the 'principal' schools, he was induced, by the hope of carrying out his ulterior object, to accept an appointment as Professor of Ancient Languages in Lafayette College, Easter Pennsylania. Here he laboured for nearly two years, endeavouring by every means in his power to arouse public attention to the subject of Normal Schools, and to obtain support in carrying out his views. Disappointed in his expectation, he received in the interim an invitation to return to Scotland, and to become Rector of the Normal Seminary in Glasgow, at a salary of L.300 ($1500) per annum, which situation he now fills with great credit to himself and advantage to his country. As similar institutions are much wanted in the United States, he has, at my request, kindly prepared for this work an interesting description of the one over which he presides. It is printed in the Appendix, No. II.

CHAPTER III.

The Banks—Schools—Ridicule of Public Characters—Salaries of the Judges—Slavery—Washington College—State Prison at Weathersfield—Moral Responsibility—The Bearing of Phrenology on Scripture—The Hartford Retreat—Phrenology—The Deaf and Dumb Institution—Hartford—To Worcester and Boston—Boston—The Pulpit—Phrenology—Education—The Negroes of the Amistad—Phrenology—The Sub-Treasury Law—The Colonization Society—Orestes Augustus Brownson—Insanity—The Law—The Election in New York—The Fifteen-Gallon-Licence Law—Taxation—The Swedenborgians—Whig Caucus Meeting.—New York Election—Boston Election—The License Law—Ventilation of Schools.

1839.

Oct. 17. Ther. 48°. *The Banks.*—The arrival of every mail continues to be watched with unabated interest to ascertain the progress of suspension. The banks of New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, have all declared their resolution to continue to pay specie; those of Rhode Island and the banks to the south and west of Philadelphia, with few exceptions, have suspended. The stock of the United States' Bank has been down to $70 in New York. The consequences to trade are ruinous. The difference of exchange between Philadelphia and New York was at one time 13 per cent. If a merchant had $1000 in his banker's hands in Philadelphia, and owed that sum, payable in New York, he must have added to it $130 of exchange, before he could have retired his note in New York. If, previous

to the suspension, a merchant in New York had sold $1000 worth of goods to a merchant in Philadelphia, and taken the purchaser's promissory-note for the amount payable in the latter city, he would have received payment, after the suspension, in a depreciated currency consisting of suspended bank-notes, and he would have lost 13 per cent. in exchange before he could have converted it into the currency of his own domicile. On the other hand, if a merchant in New York had owed $1000 payable in Philadelphia, he would have gained 13 per cent.; for he could have bought up Philadelphia bank-notes from the brokers in New York at that rate of discount, which, when sent to Philadelphia, would have discharged his debt to the extent of their nominal amount. The exchange against Baltimore rose to 13 per cent., against Mississippi to 30 per cent., and against Cincinnati to 18 and 20 per cent. The citizens of the specie-paying States, who owed debts in these districts, bought up the irredeemable currency at these rates of discount, and discharged their obligation with it, making an enormous gain; while the merchants of the suspended territories either ceased to retire their obligations payable in the specie-paying cities, or submitted to the same extensive loss of exchange, to maintain their credit. By far the greater number ceased to pay altogether.

The law afforded no remedy for these evils. If a merchant sent a bill for $1000, payable at his own counting-house in New York by a Philadelphia merchant, to the latter city, under protest, and

commenced a prosecution for payment, the law's delay enabled the debtor to stave off judgment until the meeting of the Legislature, when they legalised the suspension, and made all the debts due by the citizens of the State payable in their own currency, thus throwing the loss of exchange on their distant creditors. During the bank-suspension in 1837, the State of New York paid the interest of its debt, not in its own depreciated bank-notes, but in specie; that is to say, it paid the difference of exchange in addition to the interest; but the State of Pennsylvania paid the interest of her debt in her own depreciated bank-notes, and made her foreign creditors sustain the loss of the exchange.

Great as these evils are in a mere pecuniary point of view, their moral consequences are still more deplorable. They exhibit extensive mismanagement and speculation on the part of the most wealthy and influential institutions of the Union, accompanied by a disregard of their legal obligations; and this conduct appears to sanction every individual departure from the dictates of honesty and prudence. They also defraud industry of its natural rewards; for no profits can compensate the loss occasioned by these disturbances in the value of the currency. In short, the unjust loss, and dishonest gain, the relaxation of every principle of honour and punctuality, and the utter derangement of commercial transactions, which attend bank-suspensions, render them national calamities of the most formidable description; and only the amazing vigour, industry, economy, and

youthful enterprise of this people, could enable them to endure, and recover from these shocks. In the mean time, however, individual suffering is great and extensive. Innumerable families are compelled to give up housekeeping, to sell their houses and furniture, and go with their children into hotels or boardinghouses. Others are forced to sell their horses and carriages, and dismiss their servants; and nearly all to stint and economize, amidst fear and trembling, never certain what evils a day may bring forth. The number of bankrupts has become so great, and so many men of unquestionable character are irresistibly involved in ruin, that the feelings of all have become hardened, and insolvency ceases to be regarded as a disgrace. It is vain to descant upon these evils, and vainer still to lament over them, unless a remedy be applied that will strike at their root. This can be done only by a thorough reformation of the currency of the whole Union. Since General Jackson destroyed the United States Bank as a national institution, the different States have encouraged banking within their own territories, and the legislatures of many of them have become partners in the banks. Each bank has issued its own paper as extensively as possible; and in prosperous times, when there was no demand for specie for Europe, there was literally no check on these emissions. The two measures of the Democratic party requiring the public lands and the government duties to be paid in specie are both recent; yet they supplied the first checks that have operated since the

destruction of the United States' Bank, and their tendency is most salutary, although they have been condemned by the Whigs.

Oct. 17. Ther. 58°. *Schools.*—The secretary of the American Common School Society "estimates the total number of children in the United States between the ages of four and sixteen years at 3,500,000; and of this number 600,000 do not enjoy the benefits of a common school education." *(Chronicle of the Church.)*

Oct. 21. Ther. 38°. We attended the Episcopalian church and heard Mr Burgess preach. The church is well appointed and well filled, and the music was excellent. They use an improved prayer book.

Ridicule of Public Characters.—The Americans indulge extensively in ridicule of the Governors and other men set in authority over them. The judges and clergy appear to be the only public characters who escape from this outrage. The practice exerts an evil influence on the minds of the people themselves. It diminishes their Veneration and fosters their Self-Esteem, and is without a shadow of apology. The subjects of despots are often forced, by an irresistible and irresponsible power, to groan under the administration of weak or wicked men, and have no means of escaping from their inflictions, or even of solacing themselves amidst their sufferings, except by venting their displeasure in satire and wit. In America the people choose their own magistrates of all grades; and in Connecticut the judges for a long se-

ries of years were nominated every six months, and even now they are elected annually. It seems a reasonable expectation that the electors should reverence the objects of their own choice, at least while they permit them to retain power; but the minority, who do not concur in the appointment, take revenge for their disappointment by lampooning the individuals who have obtained the suffrages of the majority. They plead the example of England in extenuation of this conduct. In England, the person and character of the sovereign are sacred by law, but the ministers are delivered over to the public as objects of unbounded invective and derision. In the United States, the people themselves are the sovereigns, and they are as sacred as the Queen in England. No newspapers, or orators, dare to proclaim their ignorance, their fickleness, their love of money, or any of their other imperfections. The President of the Union and the Governors of the States are merely their executive magistrates or ministers, and, like their prototypes in Britain, they are abandoned to the abuse and ridicule of all.

Salaries of the Judges.—The judges of Connecticut, as before mentioned, were for many years elected by the people half-yearly, and now they are elected annually. So forcibly, however, does habit, and the tendency to acquiescence in established arrangements operate, that the judges are regularly re-elected, and are allowed to serve till they reach seventy years of age, when they are no longer eligible. In fact, an

annual appointment is very nearly as secure a tenure of office as one for life, unless the incumbent be guilty of glaring incapacity or misconduct. The salaries, however, in this State are so small that they present no temptation to a lawyer, in even moderate practice, to leave the bar and ascend the bench. The chief justice receives only $1100 per annum of salary, and the four associate justices $1050 each. The salary of the governor of the State is $1100. An instance occurred, not many years ago, of a Chief Justice, a man of talent and high legal accomplishments, whose family increased to such an extent, that he could not maintain and educate them on his salary. He resigned his office, returned to the bar, and speedily doubled or tripled his income. The Americans respect men of wealth; and as there are now many persons in Connecticut, in no very exalted station, whose incomes are double or triple those of the judges, the latter are liable to be looked down on by vulgar minds on account of their poverty. They are also unquestionably open to strong influences from popular opinion. Nevertheless, the testimony of good and able men here is strong in favour of their intelligence, uprightness, and independence.

Slavery.—I conversed with a gentleman who passed a winter in Bermuda, when there were many Negro slaves on the island. None, however, had been imported for more than fifty years before the time of his visit, and during that interval they had been

educated, well treated, and employed as pilots, and in other offices of trust. He said that they were finely-formed men, their features had improved, and their countenances had lost the heavy African expression. They not only looked but actually were intelligent. This shews the capability of the Negro race of improvement by cultivation.

Washington College.—This is the name of the college in Hartford. In 1840 the number of students was—resident graduates, 13; seniors, 14; juniors, 13; Sophomores, 29; freshmen, 14. Total, 77.

Oct. 22. Ther. 22°. *State Prison at Weathersfield.*—To-day I visited this State prison, situated a few miles from Hartford, with six or seven gentlemen who have attended my lectures. Among them were the Rev. Principal Totten of Washington College, the Rev. Mr Gallaudet, Dr A. Brigham, and others. It is conducted on the principles adopted in the State prisons at Boston and Auburn already described. There are nearly 200 prisoners at present on the books. They sleep in separate cells, but labour in large workshops, back to back, and in presence of keepers, who prevent speech or communication. The prison yields about $7000 per annum of profit to the State, a satisfactory proof that it is managed with vigour and economy. I here learned a curious fact illustrative of the Connecticut character. By the existing statutes, adultery is a crime punishable by three years' imprisonment and hard labour in the State prison. The law is rarely executed against

ladies and gentlemen who go astray; but when an idle pauper becomes a burden on the city's funds, it is not uncommon to permit a few facilities for the commission of this crime to encompass him,—if he err he is tried, condemned, and sent to the State prison, where his morals are corrected, and he is forced to maintain himself.

Moral Responsibility.—In the course of my lectures in Hartford, I had stated and illustrated the difference between the heads of men who are habitual criminals, and those who are virtuously disposed, and impressed on the minds of my audience the peculiar forms and proportions of the animal, moral, and intellectual regions of the brain which distinguish these two classes, and also those which are found in the intermediate class in whom the three regions are nearly in equilibrium. Mr Pillsbury, the superintendent of the prison, brought a criminal into his office, without speaking one word concerning his crime or history. I declined to examine his head myself, but requested the gentlemen who accompanied me to do so, engaging to correct their observations, if they erred. They proceeded with the examination, and stated the inferences which they drew respecting the natural dispositions of the individual. Mr Pillsbury then read from a manuscript paper, which he had prepared before we came, the character as known to him. The coincidence between the two was complete. The prisoner was withdrawn, another was introduced, and the same process was gone through, with the same result in

regard to him. So with a third, and a fourth. Among the criminals, there were striking differences in intellect, and in some of the feelings, which were correctly stated by the observers.

These experiments, I repeat, were made by the gentlemen who accompanied me, some of whom were evangelical clergymen, of the highest reputation. They inferred the dispositions from their own perceptions of the forms of the heads. They recognised the great deficiencies in the moral organs, and the predominance of the animal organs, in those individuals whom Mr Pillsbury pronounced to be, in his opinion, incorrigible; for the question was solemnly put to him by Dr Brigham, whether he found any of the prisoners to be irreclaimable under the existing system of treatment, and he acknowledged that he did. One of the individuals who was examined had been thirty years in the State Prison, under four different sentences, and in him the moral region of the brain was exceedingly deficient. I respectfully pressed upon the attention of the reverend gentlemen, that the facts which they had observed were institutions of the Creator, and that it was in vain for man to be angry with them, to deny them, or to esteem them of light importance.

Mr Pillsbury added that he could not trace above one in fifty criminals who was thoroughly corrected, and the reformed were young offenders committed for not less than five years for the first time. A shorter confinement led them directly back to crime. More

offenders against the person than against property are reformed.

In treating of the difference between the functions of Individuality, which observes things that exist, and those of Eventuality, which observes motion, or active phenomena, I had mentioned in my lectures that a spectator of a military review, who has large Individuality and small Eventuality, will observe and remember the details of the uniforms, and other physical appearances of the men, but overlook and forget the evolutions; while another spectator with large Eventuality and deficient Individuality will observe and recollect the evolutions, but overlook and forget all the minute particulars in dress and appearance. It having been observed that Mr Pillsbury's head presented this last combination, Mr Gallaudet, without giving any explanation of his object, asked him whether in seeing a review, he would observe and recollect best the appearance of the men or the evolutions. He replied instantly, "The evolutions."

Oct. 23. Ther. 32°. *The Bearing of Phrenology on Scripture.*—The facts before mentioned have led several members of my class to serious reflections on the relation between Phrenology and the prevalent interpretations of Scripture. I have repeated to them what I have said to all others, that Nature will not bend, nor will she cease to operate, and that if they discover any discrepancies between her truths and their own interpretations of the Bible, these interpretations must be corrected and brought into harmony with nature.

I afterwards learned that a relaxation of the principles of Calvinism has already taken place in the theology of Connecticut, which renders the views of the human mind presented by Phrenology less formidable to the divines of that State than to those of the Church of Scotland. Dr Taylor, Professor of Divinity in Yale College, celebrated as one of the most orthodox institutions in the Union, has for some years abandoned the doctrine of the total corruption of human nature, and been supported by a large majority of the clergy of the State. Dr Tyler now leads the orthodox, or total-corruption party, and has been enabled to found a new theological seminary at Windsor, on the Connecticut, which numbers seventeen or eighteen students. I have looked into the controversy on this subject, and find the following statement of Dr Taylor's views given by himself in a letter addressed to Dr Hawes of Hartford, dated 1st February 1832 :—

" I do *not* believe," says he, " that the posterity of Adam are, in the proper sense of the language, guilty of his sin ; or that the ill-desert of that sin is truly theirs ; or that they are punished for that sin. But I do believe, that, by the wise and holy constitution of God, all mankind, in consequence of Adam's sin, become sinners by their own act.

" I do *not* believe that the nature of the human mind, which God creates, is itself sinful ; or that God punishes men for the nature which he creates ; or that sin pertains to any thing in the mind which precedes all conscious mental action, and which is nei-

ther a matter of consciousness nor of knowledge. But I do believe that sin, universally, is no other than selfishness, or a *preference* of one's self to all others,—of some inferior good to God; that this free voluntary preference is a permanent principle of action in all the unconverted, and that this is sin, and all that in the Scriptures is meant by sin. I also believe, that such is the *nature* of the human mind, that it becomes the occasion of universal sin in men in all the appropriate circumstances of their existence; and that, therefore, they are truly and properly said to be sinners by *nature*."*

The phrenological doctrine, that every faculty is manifested by a distinct organ; that the Creator constituted the organ, and ordained its functions; that

* The controversy on this point extends to a volume of above 400 pages. Those parts of it which I consulted were the following:— "Two discourses on the nature of sin delivered before the students of Yale College, July 30. 1826, by Eleazar F. Fitch, professor of Theology." "*Concio ad clerum*, a sermon delivered in the Chapel of Yale College, Sept. 10. 1828, by Nathaniel W. Taylor." A review of the above sermon by Joseph Harvey, 1829." "An Examination of the said Review, Hartford 1829." "An Inquiry into the nature of Sin, as exhibited in Dr Dwight's Theology. By *Clericus*, 1829." "Strictures on the Review of Dr Spring's Dissertation on the means of Regeneration. By Bennet Tyler, D.D., Portland, 1829." "A Vindication of said Strictures, by the same author, Portland, 1830." "Letters to Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor, D.D., by Leonard Woods, D.D., Andover, 1830." "Correspondence between Rev. Dr Taylor and Rev. Dr Hawes, Hartford, January 1832." "Remarks on Rev. Dr Taylor's Letters to Dr Hawes. By Bennet Tyler, D.D., Boston, 1832." "Letters on the present state and probable results of Theological Speculations in Connecticut, 1832." "A Dissertation on Native Depravity. By Gardiner Spring, New York, 1833." These productions shew at once the importance attached to the question under discussion, and the thorough investigation which it received.

therefore each is good in itself, and has a legitimate sphere of action; but that each is also liable to be abused, and that abuses constitute sin, approaches closely to Dr Taylor's views, as expressed in the preceding letter. There is a general opinion abroad that Dr Taylor is still progressive in his opinions, and that he will announce farther modifications of Calvinism. Those who embrace liberal opinions in theology say, that they expect him still farther to purify the faith of Connecticut; while those who adhere to the ancient creed express their fears that the extent of his *backslidings* is not yet fully developed.

Oct. 24. Ther. 51°. *The Hartford Retreat.*—This is a lunatic asylum beautifully situated, and having 17 acres of ground attached to it. The patients perform no labour, and the classification is very imperfect; nevertheless Dr Fuller the physician mentioned that the cures amount to 90 per cent. of the recent cases. He told me that a part of the head which he pointed out (Concentrativeness) is always small in the incurably insane, or that it becomes small if the disease be continued; and that, when that part is large, he expects recovery. This was new to me, and I record it, to call the attention of phrenologists to the subject. Dr Brigham, who accompanied me, pointed out a case of mania proceeding from disease of the cerebellum, which he had successfully treated by local depletion in that region.

Oct. 25. Ther. 48°. *Phrenology.*—I delivered the last lecture of my course, and a committee was appointed to present resolutions.

Oct. 26. Ther. 47°. The committee waited upon me, and presented the resolutions, which are printed in the Appendix, No. II. Tickets were, at my request, presented to the editors of all the periodicals published in Hartford, who, as I was informed, attended the lectures. They did not, so far as I observed, notice them during their progress, and I was told that the cause of their silence was the fear of giving offence by either approving or disapproving. After the close of the course, "The Congregationalist" printed a favourable notice, but avoided offering any opinion on the merits of Phrenology.

The Deaf and Dumb Institution.—We visited this Institution along with Mr Gallaudet. The United States' Government gave a donation in its favour of a township of land in Alabama, which has been sold, and the proceeds invested; and it is thereby enabled to provide food, lodging, and tuition, for its pupils, for the annual payment by each of $100, or L.20 Sterling. Mr Gallaudet called our attention to the happy expression of the countenances of the pupils, and again differed from Miss Martineau in his opinion of the mental condition of the deaf and dumb. He regards it quite possible, when their natural talents and dispositions are good, to educate them, and to train their dispositions thoroughly. We saw them perform a variety of exercises, indicating great intelligence and mental resources.

I gave Mr Gallaudet the proposition, that, "many years ago, Columbus discovered America," to be communicated by signs merely, without finger-spelling

or the use of any language except that of the countenance and gestures, to his former pupil David. In our presence he made a variety of signs, and David wrote, " A long time ago Columbus sailed west and discovered America." The communication made to David was, that " a long time ago a great man sailed west," &c.; he supplied the name from his general reading. Mr G. next mentioned to us, that he would communicate by signs also, without words, that " the American leaders signed the Declaration of Independence." He made a variety of gesticulations, and David wrote, " John Hancock advised them to make war with England and be independent." David has a large anterior lobe of the brain and very large organ of Imitation, with an excellent development of the moral organs, and a sanguine and nervous temperament. He is now one of the assistant teachers of the Institution, and supports his aged mother out of his salary. When he was a child, she lamented over his deafness, and regarded him as her greatest burden. He is now her only stay.

We saw also Julia Brace, who is blind, deaf, and dumb. The anterior lobe of her brain is well developed, indicating natural intellectual talent, but the coronal region is rather deficient. She has great acuteness in smell and touch; and delivered our handkerchiefs to us by smell, after they had been mixed, and we had changed places. She examined C——'s dress from her bonnet to her shoes. most carefully, by touch. She dresses herself, makes her own bed, and does up her own hair; but she has

received very little instruction, and seems unhappy. She has neither occupation nor amusement. As she has large organs of Time, I recommended that she should be taught to beat time for her entertainment. The deaf and dumb pupils here dance with pleasure and success.

Oct. 27. Ther. 53°. *The Pulpit.*—To-day we heard the Rev. Dr Hawes preach. His text was in Matthew, vi. 19. "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth," &c. He is the eminent Congregationalist minister to whom Dr Taylor's letter before quoted was addressed. He agrees with Dr Taylor in his opinions about original sin. He preached a bold, liberal, and practical sermon, in relation to the commercial crisis which has just occurred. He told his congregation that a character made up of deep anxieties about dollars and cents could not be pleasing to God; that the wealth of many of them was about to be swept away; and that, from their natural reluctance to part with it, strong temptations to act dishonestly would arise; but he entreated them to part with all freely except their integrity. God required them to pay all they owed, to the last cent, and if they did so, so far as they had the means, and preserved their honour, they would be more worthy than if they parted with conscience, and had the whole world as their own. He said that there is something fundamentally wrong in the "credit system" of this country. Only one young man in twelve who begins business in New York succeeds and becomes rich: the rest pass through specu-

lation and various fortunes to bankruptcy and ultimate ruin. "The crash which is now heard at a distance will soon reach you, and the labouring poor will be thrown out of employment, and they must rely on you for subsistence. The missionaries whom you have sent abroad will look to you for a continuation of your supplies; you must not abandon them in the wilderness. You can answer these calls only by retrenchment. Calculate the sums you spend on sumptuous clothing, elegant furniture, and costly entertainments, and lop off part in time, and prepare the saving for these calls. Do not despond. When all your accumulations are gone, you will have your fertile land, your bright sun, your strong arms; and if you preserve also a pure conscience, you will still have the best blessings of life, and you know that God will never cease to be gracious." This is merely a faint outline of the discourse, written down from memory after my return home from the church. In tone, matter, and manner, it was bold, searching, honest, yet sympathetic and encouraging—such, in short, as sermons should generally be. It bore the directest reference to real life, and applied Christianity to practical duties. Instead of being forgotten as soon as uttered,* as many sermons are,

* The Edinburgh Review for October 1840 expresses "our wonder that there should be so small a proportion of sermons destined to live; that, out of the *million* and upwards preached annually throughout the Empire, there should be a very few that are remembered *three whole days after they are delivered*,—fewer still that are committed to the press, scarcely one that is not in a few years absolutely forgotten," p. 66. There is only one answer that can be

my impression is that it will be distinctly remembered in Hartford long after the present day.

Hartford.—The situation of Hartford is very beautiful, and many of the citizens live in detached villas surrounded by grass plots and shrubberies, situated on gentle eminences commanding extensive views of the valley of the Connecticut and the hills by which it is bounded. The custom of being over-housed is said to prevail here extensively. I was told that the annual expenditure in many of these large and handsome villas will not exceed $1500 (L.300 Sterling) per annum. In England, they would suffice for the accommodation of families possessing L.1500 or $7500 a-year.

Oct. 28. Ther. 48°. We left Hartford with sincere respect for the kind friends whose society we had enjoyed, and at 2 P. M. sailed up the river for Springfield. The water in the Connecticut is now very low, and although the steam-boat is small and draws little water, we could not pass the rapids, but entered and passed through a canal six miles long. We rose by three locks of ten feet in height each, and again entered the river. The steam-boat has its wheel and paddles in the stern. In the canal we moved at the rate of six miles an hour, and the surge was not greater than I have seen raised by a tow-

given to this statement. As the sermons are preached by the best educated men in the country, and by men of at least average abilities, the subjects of them must be such that they do not stand in a natural relation to the human faculties, and therefore do not interest or edify their hearers. In no other department of industry would such a waste of labour be permitted.

boat going at the same rate. For ten days past the weather has been, and still continues to be, clear, calm, and mild. The rich tints of autumn render the woods gorgeously beautiful, and the whole scenery is exceedingly picturesque. We arrived at Springfield at half-past six.

Oct. 20. Ther. 40°. *To Worcester and Boston.* —This day, at half-past eleven, we started for Worcester by the railroad, which has been opened since we travelled to Springfield a month ago. Yesterday a stray horse had its legs and head cut off on this railroad by the engine, and the night before a carter had left a cart with stones standing on the track, against which a train loaded with merchandise had run in the dark and been smashed to pieces. We hoped to be more fortunate, and were so; but, although we encountered no danger, our patience was sufficiently tried. About ten miles from Springfield we came to a dead "fix," and the whole train stood motionless for three long hours, enlivened only by occasional walks in the sunshine, and visits to a cake-store, the whole stock of eatables in which was in time consumed, the price of them having risen from hour to hour in proportion to the demand. The advance was equal to at least 250 per cent. between the first sales and the last. The cause of our detention was the non-arrival of the train from Worcester, which, from there being only a single track of rails, could pass our train here and nowhere else. We heard nothing of its fate, and expected it to arrive every minute till four o'clock, when at last an

express on horseback came up, and announced that it had broken down, but that it was now cleared off the rails, and that we might advance. Again I admired the patience and good humour of the American passengers, which never forsook them in all this tedious detention. A clergyman, of some pretty liberal sect, but whose name I did not learn, knew me, and spent two hours of this time in discussing the attributes, power, and foreknowledge of the Deity,—the laws of nature, and Phrenology,—often in language to which I could attach no definite ideas. When he raised his hat, I saw that he possessed very moderate organs of Causality; yet he was acute in all the perceptions that related to Individuality and Eventuality: he seemed also to be sincere and amiable; and, having a high nervous temperament, he delighted in metaphysical discussions, although he was not fitted by nature to excel in this field of philosophy. At 6 P.M. we arrived at Worcester; but here we found ourselves in another "fix." The afternoon train from Boston does not arrive till 7 P.M., and we could not proceed to that city until it appeared. It was now dark, and for another hour and a half the passengers sat with exemplary patience in the cars. At half-past seven P.M. we started again, and arrived in Boston, without farther impediment, about ten o'clock, with pretty good appetites, as we had breakfasted at half-past seven in the morning, and been allowed no meal since that hour. The car was seated for fifty-six passengers, and contained at least thirty. There was no aperture for ventilation, and, when

night came, the company insisted on shutting every window to keep out the cold. A few who, like us, preferred cool air to suffocation, congregated at one end, where we opened two windows for our relief.

Oct. 30. 1840. Ther. 40°. *Boston.—Phrenology.*—Some weeks ago the friends of education in Boston sent me an invitation to return and deliver a second course of lectures on Phrenology in this city; and they have secured an audience, hired a chapel in Philip's Place, Tremont Street, and made all other necessary arrangements for my accommodation.

Education.—A course of weekly lectures is now in the progress of being delivered gratis by the educated gentlemen of Boston to the assistant-teachers of the common schools. To-day, we heard Mr Mann deliver an excellent address on "corporal punishment." The hall in Tremont Row was crowded. He drew a striking picture of the different mental conditions of the children who are assembled in the common schools. They not only differ in their natural dispositions, but at home some may have been spoiled and indulged in their every whim; others may have been taught by example to swear, to lie, and to steal; others may have been beaten unmercifully and capriciously, and have known no law except that of force. The schoolmaster is called on to reduce this mass of discordant elements to order, and to infuse into it the spirit of obedience, attention, exertion, self-command, and mutual respect. He did not think that in the present state of the civilization of Boston, corporal punishment could be

entirely dispensed with in common schools. He, however, deprecated its excessive use. There were teachers, he said, who, if consulted about the situation of a school-house, would plant it at the side of a birch-grove, "not for the sake of the shade, but of the substance." In his view, the minimum of infliction would indicate the maximum of qualification in the teacher for his duties. He recommended that corporal punishment should always be inflicted in private, because the imagination exaggerates its terrors, while familiarity lessens them: that the rod should be used in solemnity and sorrow, and never in passion; and that the quantity of punishment should be such as to render it a real chastisement, but never cruel. He entered into a philosophical exposition of the objects of punishment, and of its effects on children of different natural dispositions. His discourse contained, also, admirable illustrations of his principles, in which wit and logic were gracefully combined, and the whole was interspersed with passages of touching eloquence. Altogether the lecture was a moral and intellectual treat.

Oct. 31. Ther. 48°. *The Negroes of the Amistad.* —By the American law one foreigner may prosecute another in the courts for assault and battery, although committed on the high seas, if both are found within the American jurisdiction. Availing themselves of this law, the negroes captured in the Amistad have, by their counsel, applied to the Court for a warrant of imprisonment against Ruiz and Montez, the Spaniards who claim them as their slaves, which has

been granted; and these two gentlemen are now in prison through default of bail. This is done at the instance of the abolitionists, and is resorted to in order to force the Court to decide whether the Africans are slaves or free. The assault and battery charged, is the fact of forcing them on board of the schooner and carrying them captive out to sea. If they were free men, this is an indictable offence, for which their pretended owners are answerable: If they are slaves, the act was justifiable. Meantime many of the New York newspapers are abusing the abolitionists for resorting to this form of law, as if they were felons themselves. They have an unbounded sympathy for Ruiz and Montez, "the Spanish gentlemen," who, they say, having escaped from the murderer's knife, have been cast for protection on the American shores; but none for the Africans who were stolen from their homes by "Spanish gentlemen," and sold as slaves in Cuba, in defiance, if not of the laws of Spain and America, at least of the dictates of mercy and justice.

The annual election for the officers of State and the members of the Legislature of Massachusetts is approaching, and the voters are addressing letters to the candidates to learn their sentiments on the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States of the Union, and other points connected with slavery. Most of those who have been appealed to have answered in favour of abolition.

The Sub-Treasury Law.—I have repeatedly ex-

pressed my humble opinion that the Democratic party is in the right with regard to instituting a national treasury, with sub-treasurers, in various parts of the Union, who shall receive the revenue of the United States in specie, and lock it up in strong boxes until needed, and who shall be punished as felons if they embezzle any part of it. They are labouring hard, through the newspapers, in the speeches of their orators, and by lectures specially devoted to the subject, to unfold to the public the principles which regulate the currency, the evils of excessive bank issues, and irredeemable paper; and, altogether, they afford on this subject an example of sound sense, real patriotism, and respect for the understandings of the people, which cannot be sufficiently commended. The Whigs meet their arguments by declamations about the evils into which the Democrats have brought the country; they ascribe the present universal derangement of the currency, the stagnation of trade, and the general bankruptcy which prevails, to the "hard cash" principles of Van Buren and his party; and promise them "credit," wealth, and plenty, if they will turn the Democrats out of office and put *them* in. The imperfectly educated people understand little of abstract reasoning; they are rarely capable of tracing a principle in political economy through present evil to distant good, while they are captivated by promises of future prosperity, and readily believe in what they wish to be true, viz., that Whig rule will restore banks, credit, wealth, and general happiness. They are going rapidly round to the Whig side.

Nov. 3. Ther. 38°. *The Colonization Society.*—Several years ago a society was instituted in the United States, called "the Colonization Society," to provide means for transporting free negroes to the settlement of Liberia, on the coast of Africa, where they might form a separate and independent colony; thus ridding the Union of the black population, and spreading civilization into the interior of the African continent. Mr Elliot Cresson came to England, and was warmly received by many philanthropists as a missionary from this society. The abolitionists now declaim against this society in unmeasured terms, and I have endeavoured to discover their objections to it. Some of these are as follows: 1st, It is physically impossible that the society's operations can put an end to negro slavery in the United States; because the annual increase of slaves by birth alone is so great that the whole American navy would not suffice to transport the blacks to Africa. The society, by pretending to do something, endeavours to divert the public mind both from its own inadequacy to accomplish any important good, and from the crying evil of slavery itself. 2dly, It serves also to support the marketable value of slaves and slave-labour, by removing free negroes who might compete with them. 3dly, It is converted by the slave-owners, who are its warm supporters, into a powerful prop to slavery. The free blacks form the only conductors of discontent between the philanthropic whites and the slaves. Where there are no free negroes in a district, the

blacks born in it are reared with the conviction that slavery in the negro and liberty in the white, are institutions of nature, with which they never think of interfering. Intercourse with free negroes destroys this illusion, and engenders a desire in the slaves to improve their condition. The Legislatures of the slave States observing this fact, have passed laws banishing free negroes from their territories. There is a clause, however, in the articles of union, which provides that every American citizen shall enjoy the privileges of citizenship in all the States, and, as these acts of the slave-holding Legislatures deprive the free-negro citizens of this general right, which the Union guarantees, it is thought that the Supreme Court of the United States would annul them as unconstitutional. To avoid the agitation of this question, the planters patronize Liberia as a place to which, by annoyance, by terror, or by bribes, they may force the free negroes to fly, and thus indirectly obtain the advantages which they contemplated by their laws enacting banishment against them.

I believe that there is force in these objections; yet the evils on which they rest appear to me to arise from abuses of the colony of Liberia, and not to be necessarily inherent in the scheme. In the United States the free negroes suffer many evils from the climate and from their degraded social condition, and they also encounter great obstacles to their advancement, from being forced to compete in all branches of industry with a race superior to themselves in native energy of mind, in education, and in

social power and respectability. To many of them a home in a climate congenial to their constitutions, and amidst a society of their equals, at the same time carrying with them the benefits of American civilization, would be advantageous: and such Liberia, if honestly administered, might unquestionably become. I cannot, therefore, join in the condemnation of this scheme as necessarily fraught with evil, however much it may have been abused; and it appears to me, that, although universal emancipation were actually accomplished, Liberia might still be useful as an asylum for such of the American negroes as could find no satisfactory resting-place in the Union.

In vol. ii. p. 84, I inserted several advertisements by slave-merchants in Washington, the capital of the Union. A friend in Boston informed me to-day, that the "jails" mentioned in them are licensed, directly or indirectly, by the United States' Government, as sovereigns of the district of Columbia, and that they, or the city of Washington, draw $400 a-year from each as the price of the license! This may be meant to operate as a check on their increase, and to give an opportunity for laying them under regulations; but the whole transactions of these slave-dealers are sadly in discord with the principles of humanity and justice consecrated by the American Union.

We went to Dr Channing's church in Federal Street to-day, Sunday, but he did not preach. A stranger officiated in his stead. As soon as the sun sets, we hear the pianofortes, and the ladies' voices singing in full activity. Dr Tuckerman, well known

for his highly philanthropic exertions in consoling and reclaiming the vicious poor of Boston, is extremely ill of consumption, and we were not allowed to see him when we called. He is much esteemed, and his illness is deeply regretted.

Nov. 5. Ther. 27°. *Orestes Augustus Brownson.* —This gentleman was originally a preacher, and afterwards became a politician; and his mental fertility and originality are so great that, two years ago, he established "The Boston Quarterly Review" to afford a vent for his thoughts. He has not only conducted, but essentially written it since. In his eighth number for October 1839, an article appeared on the "Education of the People." "Religion and politics," says he, "do in fact embrace all the interests and concernments of human beings, in all their multiplied relations." * * "If, then, we are to have in the commonwealth a system of popular education, which shall answer the legitimate purposes of education, we must have a system which shall embrace both religion and politics." (P. 402.) Mr Brownson is a warm Democrat, and his object is avowedly to undermine the Board of Education. He objects to the Board because it recommends the teaching of Christianity "so far, and only so far, as it is common to all sects." "This," says he, "if it mean any thing, means nothing at all." "There is, in fact, no common ground between all the various religious denominations in this country, on which an educationalist may plant himself. The difference between a Unitarian and a Calvinist is fundamental. They

start from different premises." "The gospel of Jesus Christ is 'another gospel,' as expounded by the one, from what it is as expounded by the other." "If we come into politics, we encounter the same difficulty. What doctrines on the destiny of society will these normal schools inculcate? If any in this commonwealth at present, they must be Whig doctrines, for none but Whigs can be professors in these schools. Now the Whig doctrines on society are directly hostile to the Democratic doctrines. Whiggism is but another name for Hobbism. It is based on materialism, and is atheistical in its logical tendencies!"

These latter words would serve admirably well for a motto to a pamphlet by the Bishop of Exeter against national education; but my object in noticing Mr Brownson's article is to make a few remarks on the insidious course of argument by which he (the friend and advocate of "equal rights and social equality," as he calls himself) labours to destroy the most beneficial institution for the welfare of the people which his country can boast of. His argument, reduced to a logical form, appears to me to be the following:—"All education," says he, "that is worth any thing, is either religious or political." But there is no common ground in Christianity in which all sects can meet, and as our "equal rights" prohibit any one sect from enforcing its doctrines on all, therefore there can be *no religious* education by the State. Again: This commonwealth is nearly equally divided between the Whig and Democratic opinions.

"Equal rights" prohibit either party from forcing its peculiar principles on *all* the children of the State: Therefore there can be no "political" education. As, however, all good education must be either religious or political, and as neither of these can possibly be accomplished in Massachusetts, there can be no education by the State at all.

Such, accordingly, is Mr Brownson's avowed conclusion; and there is a remarkable harmony between the results reached by the ultra-Democratic and by the ultra-Tory party in England, when arguing on the subject of the education of the people. It is explained by the unity of their objects; both desire to keep the people in ignorance that they may use them —the Tories as docile labourers and administrators to the comfort and luxury of genteel life, and the ultra-Democratic politicians as stepping-stones to power. One aim of this article was obviously to foment the opposition to the Board of Education, which I have already mentioned as being secretly hatching; but I am told that it is so completely ultra in its propositions, that Mr Brownson has defeated his own object.

The only public education which he advocates is that of grown people by means of the pulpit and lyceum. He has some good remarks on the necessity of the pulpit extending the range of its interests, and embracing the affairs of this world in a far more direct manner than it has hitherto done; and I have heard the same idea frequently thrown out by men of various religious opinions in the United States. He urges also the advantage of making the lectures

in the lyceums embrace man's moral and social nature, or politics. He ministers to the Self-Esteem of the uneducated mass; for he tells them that they are wiser than the Government, and says that it is the duty of the rulers to receive instruction from the people, and not to pretend to give it. "Democracy," says he, "is based on the fundamental truth, that there is an element of the supernatural in every man placing him in relation with universal and absolute truth; that there is a true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world; that a portion of the spirit of God is given unto every man to profit withal. Democracy rests, therefore, on spiritualism, and is of necessity a believer in God and in Christ. Nothing but spiritualism has the requisite unity and universality to meet the wants of the masses." P. 406.

This paragraph shews what Mr Brownson means by his charges of irreligion against the Whigs. They regard the human faculties as standing in need of education. This, in his opinion, is atheism and materialism. He maintains that "there is an element of the supernatural in every man, placing him in relation with universal and absolute truth," which is spiritualism and true religion. In other words, this "element of the supernatural" means the unenlightened and untrained impulses of the human faculties, ever ready to take on whatever impressions, and to move in whatever directions, men of bold and ardent minds choose to communicate to them. It was this "element of the supernatural" which enabled the

maniac Thom to persuade the people of Kent that he was Jesus Christ, and to induce them to die in testimony of their belief. So far from its being true that "there is no common ground between all the various religious denominations in this country," the contrary may with more reason be maintained; namely, that here, where no men are bribed by privileges and endowments to profess opinions which they do not believe to be true, but where the mind is left in freedom to deal with Scripture according to its own perceptions of truth, those views in which all sects of intelligent and well-informed men are agreed must really constitute Christianity, and those in regard to which there "is no common ground between them" must be non-essentials. The "Christian Examiner" for July 1839 observes that, "Ever since the apostolic days, the tendency has been to make the metaphysical view of Christ the essential and only important one. However a few may have felt, the mass of Christians have held the moral view of Christ wholly subordinate. Men have never been martyred because they held too low notions of the Saviour's character. His character has formed no subject for creeds. But creeds have almost always been filled with speculations as to his nature. To sustain particular views on this point, no efforts, no penalties, have been thought too great. For this churches have hurled denunciations against heretics; for this the Inquisition has dug dungeons, and armies have been arrayed with hostile banners, and the sky of Christendom been red with the flames of martyrdom. Christians often have not merely ceased to imitate, but have ceased to think of the character of Christ, in contentions about his nature." Do not these remarks forcibly embody the proposition, that Christian sects have never disputed concerning the excellence of the

precepts and the practical conduct of Jesus Christ? and do these form no "common ground" between them, on which to base a religious education? These precepts and that example also, be it observed, relate, to a great extent, to *human conduct in this world*, with which alone States and Governments are entitled to interfere. The metaphysical and abstract opinions about which the great differences exist, have reference chiefly to man's destiny in a future state, and regarding them every individual is entitled, by the principles consecrated at the Reformation, to judge exclusively for himself.

If the people of the United States fairly understood Phrenology, these attempts to perpetuate their ignorance, in order to render them the enthralled slaves of selfish and ambitious politicians, would rouse their warmest indignation. Phrenology represents our various faculties as general powers or capacities merely, each having at once an extensive sphere of legitimate action, and a still wider field of abuse. Education is the process of communicating to these faculties instruction how they may best accomplish their own gratifications, or how they may avoid evil and pursue good. The faculties have all innate activity, and in acting they will infallibly produce either good or evil; evil, if left blind and unguided; good, if enlightened and trained to virtue. In a busy life, education must begin early, otherwise it can never be accomplished well. Every individual in a civilized community, to borrow from a friend a forcible illustration, is a copartner for life with all

the other members of that community: the social body having thus a direct interest in the ability and inclination of every member to discharge his duty, and to observe the laws of the copartnery, is entitled to insist on every one of them submitting to that degree of instruction which is necessary to render him fit for his situation. In other words, every State has the right to instruct and train its members so as to accomplish them for their secular duties, while it has no title to interfere with their private judgments concerning the best means of ensuring their safety in a future life.

The "London Morning Advertiser" of 10th Oct. 1839, mentions, that "At a public meeting held in the Tower Hamlets, it was stated by Mr H. Althans, the advocate of education, that, when the new Lancasterian school was opened in Bethnal Green, a few weeks ago, out of 300 boys above the age of ten years, who presented themselves for admittance, no fewer than 173 were found to be utterly ignorant of every letter of the English alphabet." This is trusting to the inward light on the great scale, and may probably satisfy Mr Brownson; but if, by the law of England, these 300 boys had had the prospect of voting in the election of the queen, the judges, and the clergy, as well as of the members of the two Houses of Parliament, and of all the civic functionaries, it is highly probable that the bishops would have done more for their instruction, and that the House of Peers would not have thrown out the bill for granting L.30,000 for normal schools.

Nov. 17. Ther. 33°. *Insanity.*—In my lectures, after describing the healthy states of the mental fa-

culties, I have added remarks on the effects of disease in the organs on their manifestations, and by this means endeavoured to convey to my audiences rational ideas of the causes and nature of insanity. A gentleman, whom I met with in society this evening, told me that this part of my course is particularly interesting and consolatory to him. A near relative of his is insane, and he finds that the lectures are clearing up to his understanding the phenomena of the deranged mind which he had observed, but which he could not previously comprehend; and he now understands also how a cure may be effected in insanity as well as in any other disease. He expressed his conviction, also, that the diffusion of these views among the people will have a great effect in dispelling the ideas of horror and mystery which are so generally connected with insanity, and which, in his own case, he feels to constitute no small portion of the evil. In my last lecture, I remarked that there is no raving or violence in a well conducted lunatic asylum, except when particular patients are labouring under diseased excitement of Combativeness and Destructiveness, and that such cases are rare, and the excitement generally of short duration. He recognised the correctness of this description from his own visits to the Asylum, and wished that the public could comprehend it, that their sympathies for the insane might be divested of terror. There is more proper feeling about insanity in the United States, so far as my observations extend, than in Britain; the relatives of persons

affected generally view it as a disease, and are more rarely ashamed of it as a disgrace.

The Law.—In Massachusetts conveyancing is reduced to its simplest elements, and the records of deeds, with the exception of two volumes, are complete, from the foundation of the colony to the present day. Nevertheless, vexatious questions about titles occur here, as in other countries, only not in such great numbers. By the law of this State, an administrator must obtain a license from the proper court to sell the real estate of a person deceased, and it is effectual for only one year; but it may be renewed if necessary on application. Some years ago, an administrator, in strict conformity with the law, sold some valuable property by auction, within the year, and received the price, but, by some oversight, omitted to subscribe the deed of conveyance till three days after its expiration. The heir of the deceased now claims the property, which has risen much in value, and declines to refund the price. The chancery powers of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts are not complete, and if the title should be set aside, it will require some dexterity so to shape the claim for indemnification against the heir as to reach him effectually. If the case could be brought into the chancery department of the Supreme Court of the United States, there would be no difficulty, for its powers are universal to redress all wrongs.

The Election in New York.—The election of the governor and other officers of state in New York is exciting great interest. The question of the cur-

rency is brought to the polls, and the newspapers teem with the sentiments of the candidates for or against the banks, as the qualifications or disqualifications for office. The Whigs are in favour of a paper currency, regulated by a national bank: The Democrats advocate specie as the basis of the medium of exchange.

The Fifteen-Gallon License-Law.—The last and most formidable step in opposition to this law has now been taken. The counsel for the rum-dealers have pleaded before the juries that the law itself is *unconstitutional;* that is to say—that the Legislature, in enacting it, exceeded the powers conferred on them by the constitution of the State; that, therefore, the law is not binding; and that, as the juries are judges of the law as well as of the facts submitted to their cognisance, they are entitled to reject the law; and accordingly acquittals have been boldly demanded on this ground. The judges have strenuously resisted this argument, and instructed the juries that they are judges not of the *validity* of the law, but of its *applicability* to the case before them, and that if they shall assume to themselves the power of deciding on the *validity* of the statutes, there will be an end to all law and justice in the Commonwealth. The men of judgment and principle among the jurors have recognised the force of this argument, and perceived that, if juries were rendered masters of the law, they might subvert the whole institutions of the State, and resolve society into its first elements; and they have therefore stoutly resisted the

doctrine, which, on the other hand, has been as eagerly caught at and embraced by the reckless and unprincipled, who desire only to augment the power of the people, be the consequences what they will. Several juries have been dismissed without returning verdicts, in consequence of irreconcilable differences among the members on this point. The proper mode of trying this question is to appeal to the Supreme Court, which has power to determine whether any act of the Legislature be constitutional or not.

Taxation.—In Boston, the middle class of citizens pays most taxes, and contributes most liberally to charitable institutions. The city-taxation is much higher than that for State purposes, and, like the state-taxes, is levied on the whole estimated property, real and personal, of each citizen. Some rich men, to avoid this, live beyond the limits of the city, where they display the symbols of their wealth, and come to town to transact business in humble stores or counting-houses. By this means they withdraw much of their property from taxation for civic purposes. There are other very rich men who continually migrate from State to State, and live in hotels and boarding-houses, to avoid taxation. At the same time, other rich men make a munificent use of their wealth. Mr Dwight has presented $10,000 to the State, to be expended in instituting normal schools, as an inducement to the Legislature to grant an equal sum. Before this gift, no normal school existed in Massachusetts.

Nov. 10. Ther. 27°. *The Swedenborgians.*—To-day we attended divine worship in the Swedenborgian chap l. It accommodates five or six hundred persons, is commodious and neatly fitted up, and generally well filled. There is something extremely amiable and spiritual in the mental condition of this class of Christians, and their service was refined and soothing. They have a spiritual interpretation for every incident and doctrine in Scripture. Wonder, Individuality, and Comparison, seemed to be predominant organs in most of the congregations.

Whig Caucus Meeting.—This is Sunday, and in the evening I attended a great Caucus meeting of the Whig party held in Faneuil Hall. It was called by public advertisements and placards, to-morrow being election-day for the great officers of State. No one could give me any reasonable explanation of the origin of the word *Caucus*, which is applied to political meetings. It is an unmeaning-looking vocable to a stranger, and, as used, it seems to imply a general in contra-distinction to a ward meeting of a political party. I was tempted to invent an etymology for it, and to suppose it to be derived from the Latin *cæcus*, blind, because the people have at some period been viewed as giving themselves up at these meetings blindly to the guidance of their political leaders. The Sunday terminates at sunset, and the Caucus met at 7 P.M. The hall was densely crowded, and probably between two and three thousand persons were present. The youthfulness of the assembly was very striking. Without pre-

tending to accuracy, I guessed the ages as follows. Five per cent. of the whole appeared to be boys under fourteen years of age; sixty per cent. young men between fourteen and twenty-eight; fifteen per cent. between twenty-eight and forty; fifteen per cent. between forty and fifty; and five per cent. above fifty. In size of brain and combination of organs, the speakers were inferior to the men whom I daily meet with in society. Their ideas were few; their words and figures many; and nearly all was assertion and declamation. Their speeches were addressed to Acquisitiveness, Self-Esteem, and Love of Approbation, much more than to Benevolence, Veneration, and Conscientiousness. The staple of their orations was praise of "*old* Massachusetts;" of "our *ancient* and beloved Commonwealth;" of prayers that she might be preserved from bowing the knee to Martin Van Buren; of denunciations against the Democrats, termed also the Locofocos; against specie, and the Treasury and Sub-Treasury bills; and of praises of paper currency, the "credit system," the Whigs, and Whiggery. The appeals which produced the loudest acclamations were those which embodied a warlike figure, or a witty and degrading representation of the Democrats. "To-morrow," said one speaker, "old Massachusetts will go to the poll like old Ironsides (the pet name of one of their frigates) to battle. She moved so calmly onward, and so silent were her crew, that the enemy expected her to strike without a contest; but when old Ironsides came up, yard-arm to-yard arm, every spirit flashed with energy and ar-

dour; she sent from all her decks and tops such a storm of hail and thunder that no sound could be heard except that of her own mighty voice; when she held her arm, universal silence reigned; her prostrate enemy floated beside her sailless, mastless, and helmless, a pitiable wreck at the mercy of the waves. So shall old Massachusetts make the Locofocos float on the waters of the State to-morrow at sun-down." This burst of eloquence called forth loud, long, and unanimous thunders of applause.

There was no discussion of principle in the speeches; no statement of facts; in short, very little intellectual substance of any kind. The object of them clearly was, not to operate on the understanding, for the whole audience was of one mind, but to produce *excitement*, with a view to rouse up the voters to go to the poll next day. Contemplated in this light, and seeing that the speeches were addressed to a young and essentially an unintellectual audience, they certainly had the merit of being well adapted to accomplish the end for which they were delivered.

I was much struck with the circumstance that the people must have remarkably few real grievances in any degree chargeable against the Government, when the opposition orators are able to muster only such slender materials for assailing them. The statement by one of them that the Sub-Treasury Bill would lead to a monarchy, was loudly applauded! One of the speakers compared the Democratic candidates to Milton's devils, and introduced Milton's verses descriptive of them, which he and his audience applied

to particular "Locofocos;" but, from my not knowing the persons alluded to, the effect was lost on me. The personal appearance of the individuals who composed the assembly was highly respectable, and their conduct completely orderly.

Our own political meetings are often meagre enough in their array of facts, principles, and solid arguments; but most of them are superior to this display,—probably owing to the circumstance that we have more real grievances to complain of. When mere excitement is the object with us, we are not inferior to the Americans in the powers of declamation and abuse; and to satisfy my American readers on this point, as well as to maintain my own character for impartiality between the two nations, I shall treat them with the report of a speech delivered just about the same time with the foregoing addresses, by Mr Bradshaw, the Conservative M.P. for the city of Canterbury. It is as follows:—

"The Queen thinks that *if the monarchy lasts her time it is enough;* but the people of England will never consent that the crown should be degraded and debased for the inglorious ease of any created being. (Tremendous cheers.) We have not forgotten the *forced abdication of the second James*, nor are we ignorant that the title to the throne of these realms is that derived from a Protestant princess. Look at the appointments that these men and women have lately made. There is not one of them that is not a direct insult to the nation. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) See the *Irish Papists* preferred to place, to power, and to patronage. I shall take leave, on thus referring to them, to contrast the solemn oath sworn by her Majesty at her coronation with her subsequent acquiescence in these acts. (Cheers.) This oath is the compact made between the Sovereign and the

people; its obligations are mutual. (Hear.) I will now read it to you; and be you judges whether or no they have been truly fulfilled. Here are the late appointments of Papist councillors. I take them together, and thus I cast them from me with disgust and indignation. (Cheers.) The Prime Minister tells us with rare effrontery that it is his duty to get support wherever he can. Nothing is too low or too foul for his purpose. The *stews of the Tower Hamlets and the bogs of Ireland* are ransacked for recruits (loud laughter); and thus he crawls on, having cast behind him every feeling of honour and high principle. (Loud cheers.) But his ministry, his sheet anchor, is the body of Irish Papists and Rapparees whom the priests return to the House of Commons. (Great applause.) These are the men who represent the bigoted savages, hardly more civilized than the natives of New Zealand, but animated with a fierce, undying hatred of England. (Hear.) I repeat, then, deliberately, that *the Papists of Ireland, priest and laymen, peer and peasant, are alike our enemies*—aliens are they in blood, language, and religion. (Loud cheers.) Their hatred of this country is as undisguised as it is inextinguishable, and they have become only more rampant and hostile by the concessions so unwisely made to them. Yet on these men are bestowed the countenance and support of the Queen of Protestant England. But, alas! her Majesty *is Queen only of a faction*, and is as much of a partisan as the Lord Chancellor himself. But shall we quail at this impending danger, and meanly submit without a struggle? No; we will present the same bold front as our fathers did of old (great applause), and God defend the right. (Reiterated applause.) *We will resist to the death ill government*, and unjustly usurped authority. (Loud cheers.) *We will no longer submit to be governed by a profligate court.* (Applause.) It is in your hands, my friends, it is in the hands of the people of England, that her destinies are placed for good or for evil. Upon you, then, be the responsibility. You have the power, see that you make a worthy use of it; but if you will not be true to yourselves, dare not ever again to invoke the sacred name of liberty, and renounce the proud name of freemen of England." (Applause.)

When England can boast of such eloquence from an aristocratic conservative, the political orators of the American democracy must not suppose that they have improved upon the parent nation in the flowers of vituperation and incendiarism.

Nov. 11. Ther. 22°. *New York Election*—The democratic party have triumphed in the election of the members of the Legislature for the *city* of New York, by a majority of fifteen hundred. The newspapers of that city belonging to both parties acknowledge that it has been conducted with order and decorum, and that the result fairly expresses the opinion of the majority. This election took place under the amended law, mentioned in vol. ii. p. 242, and it affords a striking example of the power of a democracy to rectify its own errors; for the civic election last April was marked by disgraceful and wholesale bribery and perjury by both parties.

In the *State* of New York, the Whigs have elected the Governor and the majority of both Houses of the Legislature; so that the Democrats have the ascendency in the city alone.

Boston Election. The License-Law.—This is the election day in the city of Boston for the governor and other officers of the State and the members of the Legislature; and I went to a polling station to observe the proceedings. All was order and good humour, but opinion is sadly distracted about the license-law, and these differences are now about to operate on the Legislature through the medium of the ballot-box. I have already mentioned that, by

moral agitation alone, the cause of temperance had made so great a progress in Massachusetts, that, in 1838, the Legislature had passed an act, in which both Whigs and Democrats concurred, prohibiting the sale of any liquors containing alcohol in less quantities than fifteen gallons, except by special license; that the law was opposed from the first by several friends of temperance as going too far, and as being erroneous in principle; and that it was subsequently evaded by devices, opposed by the rum-dealers by passive resistance, and finally assailed by appeals to juries to disregard it as unconstitutional. The Attorney-General of the State struggled hard against all these forms of hostility to the law, and obtained many convictions against offenders in spite of them; but now the question comes to be decided by the people of the whole State. This is done by their voting for candidates pledged to their various opinions, and even political differences have given way, in a slight degree, to zeal for or against the license-law. At the poll to-day, I found a "regular Whig ticket," containing a list of candidates all Whigs, and a "regular Democratic ticket" all Democrats; both made up without reference to the temperance question, a "*Union* Liberal ticket," containing candidates all Whigs, but the one-half temperance and the other half anti-temperance men, or, as a friend wittily said, a "ticket composed of a glass of rum and a glass of water" alternately. There is a "Whig temperance ticket," the candidates in which are all both Whigs and temperance advocates, a "Demo-

cratic temperance ticket" in which they are all Democrats and friends of temperance. Besides these, there was a "Liberal Whig" ticket, an "Independent Democratic" ticket, a "Union Temperance" ticket, and an "Abolition" ticket, the precise meaning of some of which I did not learn. I may here anticipate events subsequent in time, in order to complete this subject at this its most interesting crisis. The result of this day's election all over the State was, that the Whig Governor Edward Everett was removed, and Mr Marcus Morton, a Democratic judge, was chosen governor by a majority of *one;* the Whigs maintained their ascendency in the Senate and House of Assembly, but by a diminished majority; and when the houses met, one of their first acts was to repeal the license-law by nearly a unanimous vote.

Mr Everett retired from office on 1st January 1840, and I was told by some of his friends that, within a few days after the loss of his election was announced, he received nearly a hundred and fifty letters from political adherents, expressing their deep regret that they had not gone to the poll on the day of election, because they had considered his return *so certain* that *one* vote could be of no importance to his cause! The path of duty in such cases is plain. Every citizen who wishes well to a public man is bound to vote for him. It is a strange perversion of morals to argue that because *other* men will discharge *their duty*, I may safely neglect mine. In answer to my inquiries, what causes had led to

Mr Everett's exclusion from office, three were mentioned: *First*, He had studied so assiduously to please all, and offend none, that he had taken no decided part on the question of the license-law, and had not allowed himself to be clearly ranked either with its supporters or opponents. If he had taken either side, he would have been more decidedly supported: *Secondly*, The circumstance of his being a Unitarian always carried some orthodox votes against him; and, *thirdly*, he had been four years in office, and some part of the people become impatient of the continued supremacy of one individual, and like to practise "rotation in office."

The first of these reasons, I believe, was the one which chiefly operated against Mr Everett; yet, according to sound constitutional principles, his conduct was right. He held the situation of chief magistrate, and possessed a veto on the acts of the Legislature: To have declared himself the ally of a particular side of a question that would certainly come before the Legislature in its next session, would have been tantamount to intimating that the members of the Legislature might save themselves the trouble of discussing it; for his negative could extinguish all enactments inconsistent with his declared opinions.

Mr Marcus Morton, it is said, has stood on the Democratic ticket for governor of this State for fourteen years, and is now elected for the first time, and by a majority of one! He is described to be an able lawyer and an honest man.

Nov. 13. Ther. 33°. *Ventilation of Schools.*—When Mr Elliot, the present mayor of Boston, entered to his office on the 1st January last, he delivered a public address, in which, among other improvements, he strongly advocated the necessity of ventilating the common school-houses. Effect has been given to his recommendation in a new school-house which I this day visited. The ceilings of the rooms are high. In winter a large supply of air, heated by a brick furnace to a moderate temperature, is introduced, and it is let off by five or six separate flues in different parts of the room, which can be opened and shut at pleasure. In each of the rooms the temperature, regulated by a thermometer, was 67° F., the external air being 35°. The garret which used to be lost, has, at Dr Howe's suggestion, been floored and plastered, and furnished with swinging ropes; and in bad weather the children play in it during the intervals of teaching. All the seats have backs. The teachers told me, that since they have occupied this school-house, the vivacity and capacity of the scholars have obviously been raised, and their own health and energy increased.*

*. The following statement occurs in "Reasons for establishing a society for improving the dwellings of the labouring classes in Edinburgh," issued in December 1840. "A metal tube, opening from the upper part of the wall of the room, and joining a general tube which terminates in the furnace of some neighbouring factory, is all that is required to ensure a constant supply of fresh air to the inmates of that chamber, though, as often happens, they should be upwards of a dozen in number. A few year ago, a large building in Glasgow, each room of which contained a family, and the tenants of which were in all five hundred, was ventilated in this way, and the result

The advantage of not separating the sexes in their hours of recreation, is forcibly illustrated by the following statement extracted from Mr Stow's excellent work on the "Training System."*—"In a large Foundling Hospital, in the south of Ireland, the boys and girls, from infancy, are permitted (not compelled) to play together, and the result has been, to the knowledge of the superintendents and directors, that only three girls had gone astray in sixteen years; many had given proofs of decided piety; and a large proportion of the females had gone out into service, and otherwise settled in life. Whereas, in Dublin and elsewhere, where the females in hospitals and charity schools are strictly excluded from the other sex during the whole course of their residence in these institutions, the number that had almost immediately gone astray on their leaving the hospitals was lamentable in the extreme."—P. 82. Mr Stow's work, and that of Wilderspin, are worthy of the attention of every person interested in education.

was most satisfactory. Previously to the ventilation, diseases, and particularly typhus fever, had been very fatal to the inmates; five persons had been ill of the latter disease in one room, and in two months, at the end of 1831, fifty-seven had been attacked by it. After the apparatus was applied, four and a half years elapsed, during which there were only three cases of fever, and two of these in a room where the tube had been destroyed." I earnestly recommend these facts to the attention of the Americans of all classes; for they are little sensible of the extent to which they injure themselves by living in bad air.

* "The Training System established in the Glasgow Normal Seminary and its Model Schools, by David Stow, Esq." &c. 1840.

CHAPTER IV.

Mr Lalor's Prize Essay on Education—The Chartists—Domestic Servants—Endowments for Education—Infant-Schools—The Planet Venus—Phrenology—Portrait of Sir Walter Scott—Phrenology and Animal Magnetism—Jeffrey's Respirator—Evidences of Christianity—The Winter—Africans and Indians—Teachers—The Rights of Women—The Rev. Mr Pierpont—Mr Abbott Lawrence—The Weather—Thanksgiving-Day—Phrenology and Education—St Andrew's Day—A Scottish Sacrament—Quackery—Mobs—"The Perkin's Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind"—The United States and Cuba—The Law of Scotland—The Judges in New Hampshire—Conventional Hypocrisy—Sir Walter Scott and the Ballantynes—The Patroon Troubles—The Presidency of the United States—Honour and Honesty—Small-Pox—Railroad Stocks—Observance of the Sunday—Music taught in Common Schools—The Organ of Number—Politics of American Authors—Mrs Gove's Lectures—Fires.

Nov. 14. Ther. 41°. *Mr Lalor's Prize Essay on Education* has arrived in Boston, and I hear it very highly commended. It recognises the benefits which phrenologists have conferred on the cause, and I am told that, coming to America backed by the approval of the Central Society of Education in London, it will give additional weight to the views which this science unfolds in regard to teaching and training the young.

The Chartists.—A friend brought to me "The Western Messenger," Vol. vii. No. 6., published in Cincinnati in October 1839, and requested me to read the first article, on "The Chartists," and to give him my opinion whether it fairly represented their case.

I have read it, and, while it shews a want of correct information on some important points, it contains a great deal of truth, and truth which, read here at a distance from the prejudices which obscure one's judgment at home, makes me blush for my country. It points out forcibly the unjust taxation of Britain, by which property is exempted and consumeable articles loaded with duties, throwing the chief burden on the poor, who by their numbers are the great consumers. It describes the ill-regulated condition of the jails, and the tyranny of the magistrates, who all belong to the aristocratic class, in committing the poor to these prisons for the most trifling offences, and also in exacting heavy bail from James Lovett and Joseph Collins the chartist leaders. It exposes the sufferings of the manufacturing population, quoting the Reports of the Commissioners on the Factory System, and Bulwer's England and the English. It represents the poor-law improvement act as an additional oppression on the poor, but this is a mistake; it accuses the Whigs, as a party, of being as averse to further reform as the Tories, another error; it regards the Chartists as in the right, and as justified in taking up arms; the latter, a view from which the wisest philanthropists who know the whole circumstances, will dissent.

I mentioned to my friend that, in June 1838, I had visited Warwick jail, and could confirm the charges made against it. I saw untried prisoners confined in the society of convicted felons, and subjected to the same severity of prison discipline.

They were ranked up in the court-yard with the condemned, to be gazed on and recognised by visiters, and I had observed one young man of respectable dress and gentlemanly appearance, said to be a clerk in a shop in Birmingham, and still untried, who looked as if he wished the ground to open and swallow him up, so ashamed was he of his condition, yet in the eye of the law he was still innocent! In the society of thieves and prostitutes condemned to transportation to New South Wales, I saw a girl of eight or nine years of age sentenced to imprisonment for having stolen a flower from a flower-pot in a low window in the town, the owner of the flower-pot being a relative of the magistrate who committed the child.* Such facts, I say, made me ashamed of my country, and shewed how callously the rich rule when the poor have no legitimate means of making their grievances felt by their masters. If these magistrates had been elected by the people by ballot, such outrages to humanity and justice could not have long existed.

The grand obstacle to the remedy of these evils is

* I mention these cases from memory, and have no note of the names, but similar facts are not rare. In the "Globe" of 21st September 1840, a case is referred to in which the Rev. James Barker, clerk, prosecuted a boy named Thomas Bridge for damaging his fence to the value of one halfpenny. Robert Webb, aged twelve years, testified that the accused pulled some hazel-nuts from the hedge of the prosecutor, but it was not proved that he had damaged the fence. The prosecution, therefore, failed; but the penalty, if the boy had been found guilty, might have been confinement in the county jail for two months, including the tread-mill.—"*Newmarket Petty Sessions.*"

the ignorance of the people. In those few instances in which the elective franchise has been preserved to them, they have sold themselves shamefully for sums of money to the highest bidder, and, in the late commotions, they talked of obtaining their rights by physical force. This alarms the middle classes, and affords the aristocracy decent pretences for coercing them by law, and opposing their instruction. The middle classes of society, in whose hands the supreme political power is now lodged, are also so imperfectly educated, that they fear the people and worship their superiors in rank, wealth, and titles. "The greatest enemy of the political conduct of the House of Lords," says a recent critic, "submits to their superiority of rank as he would do to the ordinances of nature; and often thinks any amount of toil and watching repaid by a nod of recognition from one of their number."* This spirit must be changed before justice will be done to the people in Britain; and the middle classes must open their sympathies to the wrongs of the poor, and insist on justice for all.

Nov. 16. Ther. 42°. *Domestic Servants.*—A lady told us that her mother, seeing the annoyances suffered from bad servants, had, on her first entering on housekeeping, resolved that her luxury should consist in good servants; that she lived in a humbler house than many of her neighbours of the same income, but sought out first-rate "helps," and paid them high wages. She has been uniformly well served, and one servant has been in her family for

* Edinburgh Review, vol. lxxii. p. 10.

twenty-five years. A few other ladies testified to a similar experience.

Endowments for Education.—A Mr Smithson of London has left £500,000 to the Government of the United States, to be employed in extending the limits of knowledge among men, or for some similar purpose; and a Mr Lowell has lately left a large sum to the city of Boston for providing gratuitous lectures to the people. It is questionable how far legacies for these purposes do good. It is in vain to expect that the general education of the people can be accomplished by means of legacies. They need instruction from competent lecturers, and they will never obtain these, until they consent to pay them. Legacies induce the people to think that they should not compensate lecturers by themselves paying for instruction; and while this idea prevails, a body of professional lecturers can never be found. Gifts of money to provide lecture-rooms and apparatus may be extremely useful, because these will furnish the physical accommodations for lecturing, and enable the lecturers to lower their terms; but the remuneration for the instruction given should be contributed by the people themselves. Legacies to endow lecturers on education, whose business it should be to act as missionaries to rouse the people to do their own duty, may also, in the present state of human knowledge, be beneficial. No part of the Smithson Fund is to be applied to ordinary teaching, but all is to be dedicated to institutions of a scientific charac-

ter, calculated to extend the boundaries of knowledge.

Infant-Schools.—I find several attempts are in progress in Boston to work out the system of teaching and training which is adapted to infant schools, and to a certain extent they are successful; but nearly the whole processes are invented by the sagacity of a few individuals. Wilderspin's work, and the other manuals for infant-school teaching, are not reprinted in this country, and the originals are not in general circulation. I have advised some of the friends of education to invite Wilderspin to come to the United States and shew them these schools in really efficient operation; but they fear public opinion, which will not sanction such a step. Public opinion exerts a troublesome influence in many respects in this country. It will not favour infant-schools, until they shall be *seen* in successful action; yet it will not countenance the best means of accomplishing this demonstration. It frowns and opposes, and insists on being convinced, and leaves to philanthropic individuals the expense, toil, and risk of achieving the public good. If they be successful, it will then deign to smile; if not, it will visit them with obloquy. It is so powerful, also, that individuals find it extremely difficult to act without its support. Owing to the want of its sanction children cannot be easily collected into these infant-schools. The parents are afraid of ridicule from their neighbours, or of something wrong, or at least unusual, being taught to their offspring, and decline to send them.

Nov. 17. Ther. 33°. We heard a discourse in the church in Chauncey Place, preached by the Rev. Mr Dewey of New York, on the character of Job. Mr Dewey is here on the invitation of the Society for diffusing useful knowledge, and has delivered several lectures to large audiences.

In society this evening I heard a great deal of sensible discussion about the present condition of public affairs. The recent increase of the democratic party in Massachusetts is variously accounted for. The hostility to the license-law is regarded as its chief cause. Both Whigs and Democrats concurred in enacting this law, because it was at first extremely popular; but no sooner did its stringency begin to give offence than the Democrats made "political capital" out of it; that is to say, they ascribed the law to the Whigs, and constituted themselves its vigorous opponents; and they have turned that capital to good account. It is true that the Whigs had a majority in the Legislature which passed it; and could have stifled it, but it is equally certain that the Democrats as a party did not oppose it, while they believed that the people were in its favour. I perceive, however, that some of the profounder men of the Whig party descry in the event other influences. They acknowledge that the true democratic principle is advancing, and has much influenced this election, and that the days when the wealth and education of Massachusetts were permitted to govern it are fast passing away. This appears to me to be a natural result of the present condition of American society.

No adequate foundation for an aristocracy of birth or wealth is afforded by the institutions of this country, and the intelligence of the people has reached that point at which they are capable of combination, and have become aware of their own power. The Whigs, therefore, should throw themselves cordially into the arms of the people, and, by advancing their improvement in every way, become their leaders on higher principles than those of mere wealth and station.

I hear some sagacious persons also remarking that the present extreme embarrassments of commerce will do good, because nothing but the want of physical means will prevent this people from going too far a-head in pursuit of gain. They are deficient in self-control; and things so often "right themselves," that much is taken away from the effect of the lessons of experience. This last observation is correct. The natural scurces of prosperity in this country, in abundance of fertile land, great ingenuity, ceaseless activity, and economy, are so great, that all classes recover from the prostrations caused by their errors in an incredibly short space of time.

Nov. 18. Ther. 37°. *The Planet Venus.*—To-day, at half-past eleven o'clock A.M. we saw the planet Venus shining brightly in a clear sky, the sun shining at the same time. She was a little west of south. Multitudes of people were standing in the streets gazing at the spectacle. Some said that they had seen stars in sunlight before, but to most of them the spectacle seemed to be new.

Nov. 20. Ther. 27°. *Phrenology.*—The friends of education have requested me to deliver one lecture to the assistant-teachers, and three lectures in the Odeon Theatre, at the end of my present course, to which I have with great pleasure acceded.

Portrait of Sir Walter Scott.—In visiting Mr Ticknor, in Park Street, we saw an original portrait of Sir Walter Scott painted at Abbotsford in 1824, by Leslie, the celebrated American artist. It is a most truthful representation of the original man, and the head appeared to me to be perfect. As a work of art, also, it will stand investigation, although in this respect it is surpassed by one or two portraits of him by other artists. Taking it for all in all, however, those who look on this picture have all but seen Sir Walter Scott himself. It represents him in his short green coat, his usual dress in the country. Having seen Sir Walter frequently in the Court of Session for more than five and twenty years, and having minutely studied his head, I was much gratified to see such a faithful representation of it as this picture presents.

Nov. 21. Ther. 21°. *Phrenology and Animal Magnetism.*—A brother lecturer introduced himself to me to-day, and gave me his own history as follows: Originally he kept a store, and while in this employment became a little acquainted with Phrenology. He examined the heads of his customers; his interest increased; and then began to study it in books. He afterwards gave up the store, and commenced lecturer, head-examiner, and magnetizer. He gives three

lectures; the first free, at which he examines heads to excite interest. He charges 12½ cents (6½d.) to every person who attends each of the subsequent lectures, and he examines heads privately for fees. In all his lectures he gives his audience *facts*. "If," said he, "you were to address them with reason, you would never see them after the first lecture." Out of a village of 1500 inhabitants he generally drew from two to three hundred dollars in a week. He was a pure specimen of a Yankee. His temperament was sanguine, bilious, and nervous, indicating great activity; his head was of moderate size, the organs of the observing faculties were large, and those of reflection moderate. I expressed my fears that his mode of proceeding did injury to Phrenology in public estimation as a science. He said that he believed it did so with the better educated classes, but that the people would not receive it in any other way. These facts indicate the condition of the public mind in the rural districts of the United States.

Jeffreys' Respirator.—Last year I exhibited one of these respirators at the end of my lecture on Physical Education in Boston, and described its structure and use. I did the same in New York and Philadelphia. They were previously unknown. I perceive that they are now coming into use in Boston.

Evidences of Christianity.—In conversing with an American clergyman to-day, he remarked that the men who affirmed that they felt no difficulty about the evidences of Christianity, were either incapable of thinking, or hypocrites. In his opinion, the evi-

dence was attended with many difficulties, and they were great either way. There was too much evidence to enable a reflecting mind to reject Christianity, and too little fully to satisfy the understanding when independently applied to its investigation. I remarked that it appeared to me that all the practical portions of Christianity were daily gaining strength from the development of science and the progress of civilization. Free trade and free institutions are examples of the maxim, "Love your neighbour as yourself" carried into effect on the large scale. The importance attached to doctrinal points will probably diminish in proportion as men become sufficiently civilized to practise the precepts. The doctrines also will one day undergo a new investigation when they come to be considered in relation to the functions of the brain. One point is certain, that all that is true will gain ground; and only error is in danger of suffering from free discussion. My esteem for both the intellect and honesty of this divine was increased by his candour.

Nov: 23. Ther. 12½°. *The Winter.*—The weather continues brilliantly clear. In the forenoon, the wind from the north-west is high and cutting, but it lulls in the evening and during night. The sun rises at ten minutes past seven, and shines directly into our windows. At 8 P. M. we have a large anthracite coal fire made up; it burns bright all night; it keeps the temperature in our bed-room at 58°; and is still a good fire in the morning when we rise. We leave a portion of the window open all night to sup-

ply the room with fresh air; and altogether suffer less from cold than in Scotland.

Africans and Indians.—Some time ago I communicated to a scientific friend, whose opportunities of observation have been ample, and whose powers of analysis are profound, the ideas which I entertained of the African and native American Indian races, such, nearly, as I have described them in vol. ii. p. 77. He has expressed his opinions by letter to the following effect:—"Your views respecting the intellectual capacity and general character of the African race do not, I think, differ very materially from my own. Your estimate of them is certainly higher than mine, though not perhaps very strikingly so. And had you had as free access to masses of them, especially of those fresh from their native country,* as I have had, I feel persuaded that the difference in our opinions respecting them would have been less. That they are superior to the North American Indians in their moral and social qualities, and therefore in their *tameableness*, cannot be doubted. But that they are superior in intellect I am not yet prepared very positively to affirm. Nor would I affirm the opposite. That our Indians are in all the attributes of mind greatly above *some* of the African varieties is certain. This is especially true as relates to the Boschesemen and other tribes of the Hottentot race. They and the Papuans are such miserable representatives of humanity, that it would puzzle a jury of naturalists to decide to which they are most nearly allied, the genus *Homo*, or the genus *Simia*. All that I have ever very strenuously contended for on this subject is, that the Caucasian race is constitutionally, greatly, and irreversibly superior to the other races of man. And of this I am as fully satisfied as I am that the *Caballus equus* is

* My friend is correct in this remark. The Africans of the Amistad, who were only a few months from their native shores, presented heads, on the whole, inferior to the negroes whom I had previously seen in the United States.

superior to the *Caballus, asinus,* zebra, or quagga. And the superiority is explained and substantiated by Phrenology."

Teachers.—I delivered a lecture to the assistant school-teachers, and other persons interested in education, and had a large audience. The subject of the lecture was the question, Does the mind manifest a plurality of faculties differing from each other in functions and relative strength, or is there only one general power equally susceptible of all emotions, and equally applicable to all pursuits? I pointed out the great difference that would ensue in practical teaching, according as the one or other theory was embraced. After the lecture, the teacher of a distinguished private seminary mentioned to me that, in consequence of the views which he had derived from my lectures on Phrenology last year, he had ventilated his school, alternated the studies, and increased the intervals of relaxation, and had found the health of himself and his scholars improved, their powers of application increased, and greater enjoyment imparted to them all. I mention these little incidents to encourage others.

The Rights of Women.—It is currently reported that at the late election of the State officers of Massachusetts, about one hundred votes were given in favour of Mrs Maria Ann Chapman as governor, or rather "governess," of the State. This is a lady of superior talent and amiable qualities, who has distinguished herself as an abolitionist. I have never been able to learn in an authentic form to what extent votes were really given for her; or whether

they were bestowed in earnest, in recognition of the rights of women, or as a hoax; but from the way in which the fact is mentioned, I am inclined to believe that some votes have been given for Mrs Chapman. As Victoria governs England with great eclat, there are persons who think that there is no good reason why Mrs Chapman should not govern Massachusetts; more especially as her people could remove her at the end of the first, or any subsequent year, if she did not give them satisfaction, which Victoria's subjects cannot do.

Nov. 24. Ther. 31°. *The Rev. Mr Pierpont.*—Mr Pierpont is distinguished in America and in Europe for his poetical talent. He is the author, among other excellent pieces, of the celebrated song "The Pilgrim Fathers." A majority of the pew-holders of his church lately decided that his reply to some charges brought against him by certain of his hearers is satisfactory, and he continues his ministrations. The charges were in fact ridiculous, his real offence having been his ardour in the temperance cause. In his "Reply," he gives some amusing illustrations of these accusations. "I adverted," says he, "to the fact that casks of rum bearing the Boston brand might be seen lying on the wharfs of Smyrna, and was led to inquire whether, if one of our merchant vessels carries missionaries to Asia in the cabin, and New England rum in the hold, the influence of the new world is, on the whole, a blessing to the old, if with our religion she takes our rum?" * * "I proposed to them from the pulpit the question, Whether is nearer the kingdom of God the sober believer in Mahomet, or the drunken believer in Jesus?" His congregation consisted to a great extent of distillers, one of whom led the

opposition against him. Speaking of this individual, he says, " He heeded not the hail from Hollis' Street pulpit that rattled upon the copper of his still—his still, ' whose worm dieth not, and whose fire is not quenched,' even on the Christian Sabbath!"

Another of the charges against him was that he followed " an imported mountebank," which was understood by him to mean condemnation of his attachment to Dr Spurzheim and Phrenology. In a beautiful apostrophe to the " Shade of the lamented Spurzheim," he answers this accusation. " Thou wast honoured in thy life as few in this land have been. Thou wast honoured in thy death and in thy funeral obsequies as, in this generation, no other man has been. The munificent merchant of Boston who gave thy bones a resting-place in the sacred shades of Mount Auburn, and placed over them that beautiful copy of the tomb of Scipio, was content to cut thy name upon its front as thine only epitaph; feeling, that wherever science was honoured, or philosophy loved, no other could be needed. It was left for the chairman of a committee of Hollis' Street society to express his own views of this philosophy, and thy worth; and under the name of ' Spurzheim,' he writes, ' THE IMPORTED MOUNTEBANK.'

" Yes, gentlemen, I *have* entered somewhat into the ' exciting topic' of Phrenology. I was a hearer of Dr Spurzheim, and have been since, and mean to be again, a hearer of the lectures of George Combe. To these two ' imported mountebanks' I feel myself more indebted for instruction in the philosophy of mind, and upon the conditions of the healthy manifestation of the mental powers, than to all other men, living or dead."*

* I was surprised at the observation that Dr Spurzheim's monument was reared by " a munificent merchant in Boston." I learned, on inquiry, that at the time of Dr Spurzheim's death, when the sympathy was strong, a good many small sums were subscribed by the citizens of Boston for this purpose, but, that when the money came to be demanded two years afterwards to pay the artist, the feeling had

It was subsequently stated in the Boston newspapers that it was not Dr Spurzheim, but Mr George Thomson the anti-slavery lecturer, who was meant by the "imported mountebank" in the publication of Mr Pierpont's opponents. Mr Pierpont had repeatedly offered to his congregation to submit his conduct to an "ecclesiastical council," but the discontented members declined this appeal. This is the ordinary way of settling differences between pastors and their people. The accusers and the accused name a number of clergymen of the same persuasion with themselves, as umpires; they subscribe a regular bond of arbitration to them, and the courts of law enforce the decision given upon it.

We heard Mr Pierpont preach to-day from the text, "Try all things, hold fast that which is good." The sermon contained a regular and very able discussion of the nature, aim, and modes of action, of the two spirits of "Reform" and "Conservatism," which are so active in the world. Both are implied in the text. "Try *all* things" is the maxim of the determined reformer. "Hold fast by that which *is good*" should satisfy the most timid Con-

died away, and some difficulty was experienced in making the collection. Mr William Sturgis, a merchant, a man of large fortune and generous spirit, no Phrenologist, but a great admirer of moral worth, and who had taken a deep interest in Dr Spurzheim as a man, requested that these efforts should cease, and paid the requisite sum, $1000, out of his own pocket. The Phrenological Society of Boston presented him with a copy of all Dr Spurzheim's works, with a handsome letter expressive of their esteem and gratitude, which was published in the Boston newspapers at the time, but the notice of it had not reached me. The name of Mr William Sturgis will descend honourably to posterity associated with that of Dr Spurzheim.

servative. The error committed by many reformers consists, not in "trying all things," but in not "holding fast by that which is good;" while the error of Conservatism lies in holding fast by that which is only *comparatively* good, and refusing to try *any* thing with a view to making it better. Conservatism resisted printing as a substitute for writing in the manufacture of books; it resisted the substitution of mechanical power for human and animal labour; it resisted Christianity as superseding Heathenism; it resisted the Reformation and clung to Popery. Both spirits are necessary for the welfare of the world, and our object should be to prevent either from becoming the sole motive of action. The text is unlimited in its application; we are commanded to "try *all* things." There is no truth so thoroughly established, and no custom so sanctioned by time, as to have any legitimate claim to exemption from trial. The world is progressive, and new generations are constantly appearing on the stage: if we wish to strengthen the minds of the young, we should permit, nay encourage them to "try," by the tests of reason and Scripture, all the doctrines and observances which we teach them. If these be "good," they will stand only the faster by being "tried" again and again; and if they cannot undergo this scrutiny, they are not "good," and we should not ask the young to receive them as true.

Nov. 25. Ther. 57°. *Mr Abbott Lawrence.*—This gentleman was lately chosen as one of the representatives from Massachusetts to Congress. We

visited him this evening, before his departure for Washington. He is a man in whom the moral and intellectual qualities are happily blended; he is much esteemed, and full of patriotism in the best sense of the word. He labours assiduously to raise the moral and intellectual condition of his countrymen, in the belief that if they excel in these qualities all other things will be added unto them. In my journal of this date, I find these words written: "He is in horror at the prospect of the bad air in the chambers at Washington. I urged him to make a motion to have them ventilated." When this was written, he appeared to be in good health, and in a green old age, apparently under or about sixty. He went to Washington; engaged warmly in his duties; and within three months was taken seriously ill. His life was despaired of; and after long and protracted suffering, he escaped by only a hair's-breadth from the grave. Before we left America he was under the necessity of resigning his seat on account of his health, and retiring into private life! Perhaps the bad ventilation had some influence in producing this deplorable result.

The Weather.—In the early part of the day the thermometer rose to 70° F. The wind was in the south, and much rain fell; but before sunset the wind changed, and the sky became clear. At 10 P.M. it was freezing. Next morning the thermometer stood at 11°.

Nov. 27. Ther. 24°. This evening I concluded my second course of lectures. The attendance is stated in the Appendix, No. III.

Nov. 28. Ther. 23°. *Thanksgiving-Day.*—I heard Mr Gannet, Dr Channing's colleague, preach to-day in his church in Federal Street. His text was, "Do all to the glory of God." He said, that "Thanksgiving-Day" presented one of the few occasions on which politics could legitimately be introduced into the pulpit. As religious principle should regulate every action of life, political action formed no exception. He strongly condemned the practice of voting with one's party in opposition to the conscientious dictates of individual judgment. He insisted on the necessity of every man in this country bringing his conscience and his understanding to the study of political questions before deciding on them, as he would do in any other matter of serious import, that he may do justice to himself and to society, by exercising an enlightened and salutary influence on public affairs. He denounced all political frauds, lying, slandering of opponents, and unconscientious arguments, as forbidden by Christianity. The sermon was sound, bold, and forcible. In the other services, there was presiding good taste and Christian sentiment towards all nations on the earth.

Nov. 29. *Phrenology and Education.*—The remark was occasionally made to me by persons who had heard my lectures on Education, without having attended those on Phrenology, that the views presented were so sound and luminous that I should have done much more good if I had omitted Phrenology, and delivered them simply as founded on com-

mon sense. This, said they, would have saved the lectures from the prejudices which exist in so many minds against Phrenology, and which render them suspicious of every doctrine and practice springing out of it. My answers were, first, That a knowledge of the influence of the organs on the power of manifesting the mental faculties, is a fundamental requisite to the right understanding of the subject of education. Secondly, That to have withheld this important knowledge, because it was unpopular, would have been improper and uncandid. By following such a course I should also have been extending the impression already produced by too many disingenuous phrenologists, that the science is worthless, and that the soundest views of education may be obtained without its aid, which I know not to be the case. Thirdly, That such conduct would have been unjust and injurious towards the founders and defenders of Phrenology. It would have been appropriating to myself the fruits, and leaving to them not only the toil but the obloquy of having raised them. Fourthly, That lectures on education, founded on Phrenology, make a deeper and more permanent impression on the understanding than if based on mere common sense, and can be more certainly and successfully carried into practice. Every man's common sense differs from that of his neighbour. In New England, I had visited a common school, the head master of which told me, that he devoted one-half of his whole hours of teaching to arithmetic and

mathematics, because he had discovered that pupils who excelled in those branches soon became proficients in every other, such as grammar, geography, and repetitions. No phrenologist could have held such views, because he must have known that arithmetic and mathematics depend on different organs from those which take cognizance of language, grammar, and general reasoning. I observed that the organs on which arithmetic and mathematics depend predominated over the other intellectual organs in this person's own head; in consequence of which he could teach these branches with most ease and success, and his common sense led him to conclude that all his pupils were similarly constituted to himself. When teachers rely solely on common sense and their own experience, they act merely on the suggestions of their strongest propensities, sentiments, and intellectual faculties, whatever these may be, without reference to the differences which exist between their minds and those of their pupils. Phrenology presents a scientific guide to all.

Nov. 30. *St Andrew's Day.*—By invitation from the office-bearers, I attended the celebration of the hundred and eighty-second anniversary of the Scots Charitable Society of Boston, held in the Pavilion Hotel. Mr W. H. Wilson was in the chair, and Mr John L. Millar acted as Vice-President. The room was ornamented with transparencies of St Andrew, St George, and St Patrick; and other emblems and memorials of the "Father Land." Mr Everett the Governor of the State, Mr Elliot the Mayor of the

City, Thomas Colley Grattan, Esq., the British Consul (author of "High-ways and By-ways"), and a number of other distinguished guests, were present. The history of this society is interesting. On the 6th of January 1657, a few Scotchmen of the town of Boston associated themselves together for the purpose of raising funds for the relief of their poor and distressed countrymen, and the records of their proceedings have been preserved for nearly the whole intervening period between that date and the present time. The resolution founding the association is expressed in singularly solemn and forcible religious phraseology. "We look for the assistance of the Great God, who can bring small beginnings to greater perfection than we, for the present, can think of or expect; and we likewise hope that God, who hath the hearts of all men in his hand, and can turn them which way soever he pleases, will double our spirits upon them (that shall come after us), and make them more zealous for his glory, and the mutual good one of another than we." In 1684 their numbers being considerably increased, they assumed the form of a regular society. "The society thus constituted, continued in existence until the breaking out of the troubles of the Revolution, when, on account of the loyalty of its members, who, desiring to fight neither against their native or adopted country, all retired either to the Provinces or to Great Britain. After the declaration of independence was acknowledged by Great Britain, many of the former members of the society returned to their old homes, and in the year 1784" they obtained a charter re-establishing the society. The society continued to flourish until the war of 1812–13–14, when it suffered severely, and it afterwards "continued a languishing existence for fifteen years." It again, however, revived, and is

now in a flourishing condition. It has been the means of alleviating much misery; and it forms a striking and cheering example of the inherent vitality of a good principle. Almost every other institution of this State, religious, civil, and judicial, has been destroyed and reconstructed again and again since this society was founded, but it has lived through all vicissitudes, and risen from its ashes even when it seemed to have been finally extinguished by adversity.

Besides Scotchmen, the company consisted of Englishmen, Irishmen, and Americans; and nothing could be more pleasing than to observe the tact and good sense with which, in the expression of their national feelings, each of these sections avoided all extravagance and matter of offence to their neighbours. The only jar which struck on my mind was in hearing the Governor of Massachusetts, with great good nature, join in singing the Queen's anthem, and, in allusion to her enemies, giving utterance to the sentiment "confound their politics," "frustrate their knavish tricks;" more especially as he was lately in great danger himself of being forced to become one of her enemies when the "Maine troubles" wore a threatening aspect. Victoria, or rather her counsellors, are not so infallible as to render it certain that she is always in the right in her quarrels; and even, independently of this consideration, good taste would dictate that, to render the anthem perfect, it should be purified of the manifestations of Self-Esteem and Destructiveness which are implied in these words.

The health of Governor Everett was given by the chairman, and received with great cordiality. In returning thanks, he delivered an appropriate, classical, and eloquent address. The delivery was graceful, animated, and fluent. He describes the Scottish character in the chastest language, and with nice discrimination; he adverts felicitously to the leading incidents in the history of the country, and enumerates her distinguished writers with a just critical acumen, shewing altogether a highly cultivated, well-stored, and accomplished mind. It is so characteristic of his mental attainments, that I insert it in the Appendix No. IV.

Mr Grattan also delivered a speech full of fervid eloquence and generous sentiment; and the proceedings of the whole evening constituted a highly intellectual treat. Champagne was constantly administered by the servants after the cloth was drawn, but the company used it, and all the other wines and liquors, in most exemplary moderation.

Dec. 1. Ther. 40°. *A Scottish Sacrament.*—Burns, in his "Holy Fair," has rendered a Scottish sacrament in the *country* famous in all parts of the world where his dialect is understood; but I was struck with the description of the same solemnity in a city, given by an American gentleman of serious habits and a cultivated mind, who had visited Edinburgh about thirty years ago. The subject was introduced by his asking me whether the same state of things continued to exist which he witnessed at that time. I asked him what he particularly alluded to, when

he gave me the following picture of his impressions: He happened to be in Edinburgh in the week of the sacrament, and was introduced to the Rev. Dr Campbell, long since deceased. The solemnity of the Thursday's fast-day; the long and serious discourse delivered on the Saturday; the extreme solemnity of the Sunday's dispensation of the bread and wine, and the deep impressiveness of the Monday's prayers and preaching, appeared to him more than reverential; they were awful. His mind was depressed by the terrible images and sentiments which had been constantly brought before it during these days. The clergymen also who officiated, as well as the congregation who listened, seemed to him to be broken down under a sense of guilt and apprehension of punishment. He was invited to dine on the Monday, after the close of the exercises, with Dr Campbell and his brother clergymen who had assisted him on the occasion. He at first shrunk from accepting the invitation. He conceived that the evening would be passed in practically carrying out the awful admonitions of the previous days, and that every man would be found searching deeper and deeper into his own heart, drawing forth another and yet another sin, and casting it from him. As, however, he had received so much kindness from the reverend doctor who gave the invitation, he considered it his duty to accept it. He entered the house with the most solemn feelings, and prepared his mind to meet his friends in harmony with the spirit which he believed to pervade them. He was surprised to see a bright and benignant smile on Dr Campbell's countenance, and

was speedily introduced to the late Rev. Dr Ireland, and a whole circle of other doctors in divinity. They all looked differently from what he had expected. They seemed to be happy, smiling, and good natured. Dinner was served, the cloth withdrawn, and the servants left the room, when forthwith there broke forth bursts of merriment, droll stories, an universal hilarity that appeared to him like the opening of the clouds and the sudden gleam of sunbeams after the awful darkness of a thunder tempest. The bottles circulated freely, first port and sherry, and by-and-by a call was made for the "mountain dew." This was compounded into "toddy," and the mirth grew more vivacious; the stories deepened in a certain kind of interest; the confines of good and evil seemed constantly threatening to intermingle; and only at a pretty advanced hour in the evening did this joyous and jovial party separate. He was then young, and unused to the ways of the world, but he had often reflected on the subject since. He had come to the conclusion that in the one scene the ministers were acting in their professional, and in the other in their natural capacities; and he did not think the less of the Scottish clergy from his having been permitted by this incident to see them in their natural condition. He had been brought up in different views of Christianity himself, but he rejoiced to see that the austere doctrines of their church had left their social qualities unblighted and unimpaired; and that they were amiable, cheerful, kind-hearted, and sensible men. I told my friend, that no very marked change has taken place in these particulars

in modern times. The Scottish clergy regard the "Monday's dinner" after the sacrament as the only remnant of the "carnival" that is left to them, and they think it no sin to enjoy it as such.*

Dec. 2. *Quackery.*—In conversing with a gentleman on the great extent to which this evil appears to prevail in the United States, so far as one can judge from the advertisements in the newspapers, he said that quackery extends through all departments of business; even in lecturing, said he, "it abounds so extensively, that prudent people pay no attention to certificates, none to resolutions, and none to newspaper reports, because all these can be obtained by impudence and money; often they are forged; and the only mode of treating them according to their deserts is to regard them with utter neglect. This operates against the man of talents and sound acquirements, until, by extensive and persevering efforts, he has reared a personal reputation. This is the real cause," said he, "of the people of Baltimore, Cincinnati, and latterly Providence, having declined to pledge themselves to attend your lectures, until you appeared among them and shewed what you could do." I remarked that the names appended to the resolutions of my classes were a guarantee against imposition. "Few names," said he, "except those of politicians,

* Since my return to Scotland, I have been assured by a friend who has frequently attended these "Monday dinners" in Edinburgh, that within the last ten or fifteen years a most decided improvement has, in some quarters, taken place. The description in the text *was* accurate at its own date, and my Scottish readers will judge how far it continues generally to be so.

are much known beyond their own district in our wide extended country; and besides, even our respectable citizens are so often drawn by their good nature into commending persons whom they wish to advance, that it is at all times difficult to tell whether any encomium proceeds from the merits of the party praised, or the kindness of the individual who utters it."

Mobs.—To-day I heard Judge Thatcher deliver a clear and sensible address to the grand jury of the county of Suffolk, from which I learned that, during the last session, the Legislature of Massachusetts has rendered any city or county in the State liable for three-fourths of all damages done by mobs, if the owner have used reasonable care to protect his property. This law will form a good check on mobs, but it is difficult to discover why the compenation does not reach the entire loss.

"*The Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind.*"—This institution is now removed from Pearl Street in the heart of the city to Mount Washington on Dorchester Heights, looking down on the Bay. It was built in the days of speculation for a hotel, and is a splendid establishment. It is now admirably fitted up for the purpose of educating and instructing the blind in trades. The pupils were removed to it last summer; and during the first three months after their removal, the boys and girls consumed 25 per cent. additional of provisions. They enjoy here purer air, more extended exercise, and sea-bathing. Dr Howe cultivates the sense of propriety

in the children as assiduously as if they could see. They are taught to keep their own bed-rooms in order, and to lay every object in its proper place. In bathing they are clothed, and they are prohibited from ever appearing undressed even before each other. They have the same delicacy of feeling in this respect which is found in well-trained children who see. We entered into the school about sunset, and commenced an examination of the boys in geography, natural philosophy, and arithmetic. Dr Howe and Mr Mann, who accompanied us, carried the questions into a wide range of topics by conversation, and we found the pupils possessed not only of great acquirements in knowledge, but of well cultivated powers of reasoning. It became quite dark, and no lights were brought, but our examinations proceeded uninterruptedly. Nothing before ever enabled me so completely to realize the condition in which the blind habitually live as this scene did. For the time, we participated with them in being in unbroken night; and by no other means can one so fully appreciate the value of their attainments. In the dark we were helpless; but they read, cyphered, demonstrated mathematical propositions, traced the courses of rivers, seas, and mountains, on their maps, fetched and carried whatever object they wanted, knew where every thing lay, and were as full of vivacity as if they had enjoyed the benefits of light.

I have already adverted to the great improvement in printing for the blind accomplished in this institution. In the type used by Dr Howe, a chapter of the Bible is printed in less than half the space occupied

by the type in use in Scotland, and is as easily read. It may be true that a page of the Scotch print may be cheaper, estimated by the square foot; but as it contains only half the quantity of matter, the expense of printing any given book is greater.*

Dr Howe openly acknowledges that he owes whatever success has attended his exertions in improving the education of the blind (and it is great) entirely to the light derived from phrenological views of mental philosophy:—"Before I knew Phrenology," said he, "I was groping my way in the dark as blind as my pupils: I derived very little satisfaction from my labours, and fear that I gave but little to others. Our upper classes are all instructed in the general principles of intellectual philosophy, and we explain to them both the old and the new systems; but I never knew one of them who did not prefer the latter, while I have known many who have taken a deep interest in the philosophy of Phrenology, and heard them avow that they were made happier and better by understanding its principles. Some of our teachers are persons of considerable intellectual attainments, and all of them have adopted the new philosophy since they joined the institution, not because they were induced to do so by any request of mine, or on any consideration of extrinsic advantage to themselves, but solely because their duties led them to examine all the theories of mental philosophy, and the new system recommended itself most forcibly to their understandings, and appeared most susceptible of practical application."†

Much as we found to interest us in this institu-

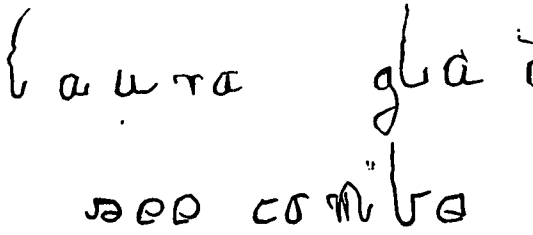
* Since my return to Great Britain, I have shewn specimens of Dr Howe's type to several persons who take an interest in printing for the blind. The superior legibility and economy of the Boston printing are generally admitted; but one gentleman, highly educated and accomplished, who is himself blind, considers that if there were two lines less in the page it would be still more distinct.

† Dr Howe, at my request, put this testimony into writing, and authorized me to use it.

tion, the most attractive of all the pupils is the girl Laura Bridgman, now about nine or ten years of age. She has from infancy been deaf, dumb, and blind; and is also destitute of the sense of smell. She has grown considerably in stature since last year, and I observe a distinct increase in the size of her brain. The coronal, or moral region, in particular, has become larger, not only absolutely, but also in proportion to the animal region. Her temperament is nervous, with a little sanguine. The head altogether is of full size and well formed. The organs of the domestic affections are amply developed, and in the best feminine proportions. Self-Esteem, Love of Approbation, Cautiousness, Firmness, and Conscientiousness, are all large. The anterior lobe of the brain also is large, and both the knowing and reflecting departments are well developed. The organs of Order are large, and she shews great tidiness in all her arrangements.

Phrenology leads us to understand that in this child the moral and intellectual powers exist in great vigour and activity, and that all that is wanting to her successful education is the means of conveying knowledge to them. Dr Howe and his assistants, guided by this science, have succeeded wonderfully in the work of educating her. I perceive a manifest and important improvement since last year. She manifests the most sensitive delicacy in regard to sex. When I placed my hand on her head she was troubled, and removed it; but she did not interest herself to remove a female hand. The natural language of her countenance expresses intelligence and happiness; and

we were told that she is very happy. She has been taught the finger-alphabet, and converses readily with the masters and scholars. She has been instructed in writing also; and when informed of our names, she felt C.'s dress and mine, recognised us as old acquaintances, recollected our visit of last year, and wrote in pencil the words—"Laura glad see Combe," and presented them to us. The following is a fac-simile of them:—



Two of the pupils named Baker, to whom she was much attached, were absent on a visit to their friends, and she had worked a bag which she wished to send to them. She had just finished a letter to them in the same character as the above, which she kindly allowed me to carry with me, as a specimen of her chirography, and said she would write another. It was in the following terms: "Louisa and Elizabeth Baker.——Laura is well. Laura will give Baker bag. Man will carry bag to Baker. Laura will cry, Baker will come to see Laura. Drew," another pupil, "is well. Drew give love to Baker. Laura Bridgman."

I asked Dr Howe by what means he succeeded in teaching her the connection between the letters "deliver," and the act of delivering, and so forth. He

said that the meaning of all such words was communicated only by very frequent repetition of the act, and by writing the letters each time. He took a bag, for instance, and time after time made Laura deliver it to him, and write the letters, and thus he succeeded in connecting the mental conception with the words. She has large organs of Philoprogenitiveness, and has a little doll which she caresses and dresses very neatly. She has a great admiration of ornaments, and was delighted with C.'s bracelets and brooch. She has a separate box for her own bonnet, and another for the other parts of her dress, and preserves them all in the greatest order. She has at present no ideas of religion. Dr Howe waits for the farther maturity of her organization, and the greater development of her faculties, before he attempts to convey to her this species of knowledge; and in the mean time every one is enjoined not to allude to the subject, lest they should convey impressions that might render her unhappy, and which it might be impossible to eradicate.

I add the following particulars from the "Annual Report of the Trustees" of the Institution for 1840.

"There is one whose situation is so peculiar, and whose case is so interesting in a philosophical point of view, that we cannot forbear making particular mention of it; we allude to Laura Bridgman, the deaf, dumb, and blind girl mentioned in the two last reports."

"The intellectual improvement of this interesting being, and the progress she has made in expressing her ideas, is truly gratifying.

"She uses the manual alphabet of the deaf mutes with great facility and great rapidity; she has increased her vocabulary so as to comprehend the names of all common objects; she uses

adjectives expressive of positive qualities, such as hard, soft, sweet, sour, &c.; verbs expressive of action, as give, take, ride, run, &c., in the present, past, and future tense; she connects adjectives with nouns to express their qualities; she introduces verbs into sentences, and connects them by conjunctions; for instance, a gentleman having given her an apple, she said, *man give Laura sweet apple.*

"She can count to high numbers; she can add and subtract small numbers.

"But the most gratifying acquirement which she has made, and the one which has given her the most delight, is the power of *writing a legible hand*, and expressing her thoughts upon paper: she writes with a pencil in a grooved line, and makes her letters clear and distinct.

"She was sadly puzzled at first to know the meaning of the process to which she was subjected; but when the idea dawned upon her mind that by means of it she could convey intelligence to her mother, her delight was unbounded. She applied herself with great diligence, and in a few months actually wrote a legible letter to her mother, in which she conveyed information of her being well, and of her coming home in ten weeks. It was indeed only the skeleton of a letter, but still it expressed in legible characters a vague outline of the ideas which were passing in her mind. She was very impatient to have *the man* carry this letter, for she supposed that the utmost limit of the Post-office Department was to employ a man to run backward and forward between our Institution and the different towns where the pupils live to fetch and carry letters. We subjoin to this Report a correct *fac-simile* of Laura's writing, observing that she was not prompted to the matter, and that her hand was not held in the execution; the matter is quite original, and the chirography is entirely her own.

"She has improved very much in personal appearance as well as in intellect; her countenance beams with intelligence; she is always active at study, work, or play; she never repines, and most of the time is gay and frolicsome.

"She is now very expert with her needle, she knits very easily, and can make twine bags and various fancy articles very pret-

tily. She is very docile, has a quick sense of propriety, dresses herself with great neatness, and is always correct in her deportment. In short, it would be difficult to find a child in the possession of all her senses, and the enjoyment of the advantages that wealth and parental love can bestow, who is more contented and cheerful, or to whom existence seems a greater blessing than it does to this bereaved creature, for whom the sun has no light, the air no sound, and the flowers no colour or smell.

"For the method of teaching her, and for further particulars of her case, we refer you to Appendix B."*

The United States and Cuba.—It is calculated that about fifty Americans of the better class settle annually in Cuba, and there is a great trade between this island and the United States. The Spaniards are becoming acquainted with the American Institutions, and it is said that they would not be averse to join the Union. The Slave States it is said would gladly consent to their admission, because this would add powerfully to their strength; and the other states, through motives of interest, might not be averse to the compact. The realization of this idea may be very distant, but circumstances might arise to accelerate it.

Dec. 7. Ther. 38°. *The Law of Scotland.*—At a party to-day at the hospitable residence of Mr Grattan the British Consul (whose urbanity, generous sentiments, and high literary talents, have already endeared him to the Americans), we met Judge Story of the Supreme Court of the United States. He expressed his admiration of the Commentaries on Bankrupt and Commercial Law by Mr George

* The Appendix B is so interesting that I have transferred it entire to the Appendix to this volume, No. V.

Joseph Bell of Edinburgh; and mentioned that Mr Bell had lately sent him his "Principles of the Law of Scotland," with a kind letter, which had gratified him much. He said that the freedom with which the Scotch lawyers have investigated first principles, renders their pleadings and writings particularly interesting in the United States, where the law is in the progress of constant change and improvement. He had also studied Mr Fergusson's Reports of the Cases decided by the Scotch Judges, annulling, for offences committed in Scotland, marriages contracted in England; and he acknowledged that he had derived many valuable lights from them in preparing his own Treatise on the Conflict of Jurisdictions. There is, said he, great depth of reasoning and soundness of conclusion in the opinions of the Scotch Judges. In the United States, their doctrine has long been adopted in the practice of the Supreme Court. He was glad to see that the English Judges had at length given effect to the cogent reasoning and luminous exposition of principle adopted by their Scotch brethren; and he admired the unswerving firmness with which the latter had adhered to their own views, opposed as they long were by the great weight and authority of the English Judges. He added, "These remarks are not confidential; you may if you please communicate them to the Scotch Judges with an expression of my high esteem."*

Dec. 8. Ther. 38°. *The Judges in the New Hamp-*

* The conflict between the Law of Scotland and that of England, in these cases of divorce, is not yet terminated, and a legislative enactment will probably be necessary to bring it to an end.

shire.—One of the Boston lawyers mentioned to me that the Judges in the State of New Hampshire are appointed only for three years; that he has pleaded before them and found them to be very able and upright men. They are changed occasionally, but they resume their places at the bar without any feeling of degradation. Their elevation to the bench is found to have invested them with additional reputation and respect, and their practice is increased. I met ex-Chancellor Kent in New York, and was told that after descending from that high office, at sixty years of age, beyond which the law did not admit of his being re-elected, he continued to exercise almost chancery powers in his private chambers, and sustained no loss of income, but the reverse. He was applied to for opinions in important cases, and practised extensively as arbitrator in references. He never appeared again at the bar in any court. In Rhode Island the Judges are elected annually; but it is said that anarchy has threatened to make more serious inroads on social order in that than in any other of the old States.

Conventional Hypocrisy—In the twentieth volume of the Boston "Christian Examiner" there is a review of a religious work, published anonymously, but reputed to have been written by a member of the Church of Scotland. The reviewer observes, that "The author who has called forth these remarks is kept in countenance, at least to a great degree, in thus solemnly profess-

ing what he does not believe, either in letter or spirit, by such men as his countrymen Robertson, Blair, and the great body of the liberal party of the clergy of Scotland, whose opinions, it is well known, lean strongly towards Arminianism. He is kept in countenance, too, in this, by great numbers in England, on the Continent, in our own country, including professors of our theological institutions, and in all other places, where these creeds and confessions are imposed. But the commonness of the sin only renders it a more fitting subject of reprobation."

Dec. 12. Ther. 12°. *Sir Walter Scott and the Ballantynes.*—Mr Lockhart's "Ballantyne humbug handled" is attracting attention in the literary circles here. It is known that the Ballantynes have answered it (it is said effectually and conclusively in Edinburgh), but their reply has not reached the United States.*

The Patroon Troubles.—The head of the Van Rensselaer family is styled the Patroon of Albany, a title corresponding to the English Lord of the Manor. Many years ago a large tract of land, lying on both sides of the Hudson, was let out on leases for long terms by one of the ancient patroons, for certain rents, payable in grain, poultry, and services with carriages and teams. The late Mr Van Rensselaer, who died in the present year, was indulgent in commuting these rents, and he even allowed many of them to stand over unexacted. His son is now insisting on the tenants paying up arrears, and he demands the modern market price for both the produce and services. The tenants consider their situ-

* I have read it since my return to Scotland, and regard it as completely supporting the observations made in vol. i. p. 186.

ation as at once anomalous and grievous. They are substantially proprietors of their farms; but their tenures are only lease-hold: They conceive themselves also to suffer hardship in regard to the rates at which the produce is commuted. They have thought that the accession of the new patroon afforded a fitting opportunity to rid themselves of their grievances; and after offering him terms which he declined to accept, they unanimously resolved not to comply with his demands. He appealed to the law, but they resisted the Sheriff in serving legal writs upon them. The *posse comitatus* of Albany was called out, and they resisted them. The Sheriff reported this resistance, as rebellion, to the Governor of the State, and he issued a spirited proclamation denouncing it as an outrage on the law, and called out the militia of the cities of Albany, Troy, and New York. The Albany and Troy militia marched into the disaffected territory. The insurgents seized the artillery and powder magazines belonging to their own militia regiments, obstructed the roads, and prepared for battle. The militia however pressed on, and shewed a firm determination to support the law; on which the tenants surrendered at discretion, without any bloodshed. This occurrence excited great interest all over the Union, and in Boston I heard it discussed by both Whigs and Democrats, and the conduct of the tenants was unanimously and strongly condemned by both parties. M. De Tocqueville justly remarks that, in the United States, the ascendency of the law is maintained by direct-

ing civil processes and executions only against *individuals*, whose reasons or desires for resisting it are never participated in by so large a portion of the community as to give them the power to set it at defiance. These tenants were so numerous that they conceived that they could successfully resist the law; but the State authorities soon convinced them of their mistake; and the press everywhere condemned them. The Legislature in its subsequent session passed an act for the equitable commutation of their grain-rents and services, and otherwise redressed their grievances.

This occurrence enables one to understand how social order and safety to property should essentially prevail, while mobs and outrages, in which the people seem to set all law and justice at defiance, may occasionally occur. I have heard Americans themselves, in moments of disappointment, remark that there is a steady movement by the people all over the Union towards placing themselves above the law; that mobs resist it, juries trample on it, and the people, through their legislatures, continually change it. There is no force which can give effect to the law when the people choose to oppose it. If the *posse comitatus* is called out, it consists of the mob. If the constables and militia are summoned, they are themselves the law breakers: In short, the officers of the law are left powerless against the people. This representation is correct when violent feelings pervade the people *generally;* when, for instance, they are pleased to burn halls, or maltreat editors, on ac-

count of abolition proceedings; but the feeling must be wide-spread and vividly excited before these evils can be produced; and, in point of fact, they are comparatively rare. In civil suits, and criminal prosecutions against individuals for ordinary offences, the people support the officers of justice; and hence arise order and security as the general rule, to which occasional outrages are only the exceptions.

The Presidency of the United States.—Mr Van Buren's first term of office (four years) will expire in March 1841, and a new election of president will take place in the end of 1840. Since we arrived in the United States, most of the Whig newspapers have announced Mr Clay as the candidate for the presidency on the Whig side against Mr Van Buren, who is nominated by the Democrats for re-election. The Whigs have held a general convention of delegates from all the States of the Union, at Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania, at which they have set aside Mr Clay, and nominated General William Henry Harrison, residing at North Bend, in the State of Ohio, as their candidate, and John Tyler of Virginia, for the vice-presidency. Mr Clay has written a handsome letter waving his claims, and urging unanimity in the Whig ranks in favour of General Harrison and Mr Tyler. The delegates, on returning to their respective States, summon the members of their party to a general meeting, and explain to them the reasons that guided the convention in their choice. Town and county meetings are next held, to which these explanations are communicated; and by this

machinery the Whigs of the whole of this vast country are induced to commence operations in one spirit, to ensure success to the object of their choice. The Democrats follow similar measures; but as they possess power, theirs is a defensive rather than an aggressive contest.

Honour and Honesty.—Some time ago I became acquainted with a teacher of the higher branches of education, who now successfully conducts a private seminary in this State, and whose history is instructive. He pursued the same vocation in England, and told me that there he had a fair attendance of scholars, but that many of the parents, even in respectable circumstances, did not pay the school-fees for their children, and when he urged for payment, they resented his urgency, and in the circles in which they visited, accused him of imputed offences, concealing the real one, till his reputation was injured, and his school seriously thinned. As he did not move in the same rank with them, he had no means of defence, and left the country and came to the United States. I asked him, whether he did not experience the same grievance here? He said no; that the Americans considered school-fees as debts of honour, and paid them in almost all circumstances. I am sorry to say that in Scotland teachers are no better treated in this respect than this gentleman was in England. I have repeatedly been informed by teachers in my own country, that their fees are ill-paid by the fashionable portion of the middle-classes, and that they have the mortification to know that, while they are teaching

two or three children without recompense, the parents are sumptuously entertaining fashionable society, at an expense which would have cleared off the school-arrears in one week. They have assured me, also, that urgency on their part is resented in the same way, and with the same effects, as in the case before described. It is difficult to conceive a greater dereliction of all feelings of honour and honesty than such conduct implies.

Dec. 13. Ther. 31°. *Smallpox.*—There has been a serious alarm in Boston caused by the re-appearance of the smallpox, attended by a considerable number of deaths. In calling for Dr Smith, the health-officer, I have seen crowds of persons from one year old to fifty, undergoing vaccination. The British Parliament has rendered it penal to inoculate for the natural pox; but this has not yet been done in Massachusetts.

Dec. 14. Ther. 25°. *Railroad Stock.*—I find that some bankers and men of property in the United States entertain doubts concerning the stability of railway stocks as investments for capital, and the following have been stated as some of the reasons for the distrust:—1*st*, The uncertainty of American legislation. When an incorporated company is reaping a great profit by any public undertaking, it excites envy, and some patriots discover that the public interests require a rival road, or a rival bridge, to be erected, and the Legislature, which answers to the popular call, gives effect to their designs. The first company's rights are not violated in direct

terms, but a rival is established which ruins it. 2*dly*, The railroads are constructed slightly, and may soon wear out. 3*dly*, There are such rapid changes in the great currents of trade and travelling, that nobody can be certain that any particular line of railway will be as extensively used ten years hence as at present: and lastly, these roads are new, and the timid have not confidence in them. In Massachusetts, the State has reserved to itself power to purchase up the railroads at the end of twenty years, on paying the prime cost, and ten per cent. per annum of interest from the commencement, deducting all dividends and bonuses on the stock previously paid out of the profits. The majority of the legislators in most of the States are farmers; that is, proprietors who farm their own lands;* many of whom are changed every year. There is no efficient public officer in the legislatures for revising private bills (such as Lord Shaftesbury in the British House of Peers), and the law is in constant fluctuation. The lawyers are ever beginning and never ending their studies, and decisions have less weight in establishing the law than in England, because new statutes frequently interfere with them.

* In 1840 the House of Assembly of the State of New York, numbering 128 members, presented the following professions: 59 farmers, 23 lawyers, 18 merchants, 7 physicians, 2 cabinet-makers, 2 lumbermen, 1 furrier, 1 gardener, 1 mariner, 1 joiner, 1 blacksmith, 1 postmaster, 1 mechanic, 1 grocer, 1 yeoman, 1 agriculturist, 1 teacher, 3 with blank occupations, and 1 with none. Of the whole number 74 were born in the State of New York, 22 in Connecticut, 13 in Massachusetts, 10 in Vermont, 3 in New Hampshire, 2 in Rhode Island, 2 in New Jersey, and 1 in Prague, Germany.

This representation is strongly drawn, but contains substantial truth. I heard the stock of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad strongly recommended by some sagacious persons, and the reasons assigned for their opinion were these:—1*st*, It connects the two great cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore, and lies in the direct line of communication between the east and the south-west. 2*dly*, In part of its course it is bounded by the sea on the one side and high ground on the other, and its proprietors have united with the Steam-boat and Railway Company already existing on the side next the sea, so that rivalry is nearly impossible. 3*dly*, The railroad traverses portions of three States, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, and the Company enjoys charters from them all. It would be extremely difficult to induce all the three legislatures to unite at the same time, and on the same terms, in establishing a rival company. 4*thly*, The charters are perpetual, and are not liable to come under the discretionary action of the legislatures in being renewed. 5*thly*, The railroad, after defraying all current expenses, including tear and wear, yields a surplus revenue applicable to the redemption of its debt. This statement of advantages confirms, to some extent, the previous views; but there are other railroads, particularly those between Albany and Buffalo, that seem nearly as safe, except that they are all liable to be acted on by the Legislature of the single State of New York.

Dec. 16. Ther. 31°. *Observance of the Sunday.*—This day we have a very severe snow-storm, the

first unequivocal symptom of winter. In visiting Lowell I made inquiries about the observance of Sunday by the manufacturing population, about 20,000 in number, and was assured that it is kept sacred in the most exemplary manner. The only exception mentioned is, that occasionally the mills and dams are repaired on Sundays, to avoid throwing large numbers of people idle on week-days. The interests of the owners and of the workmen concur in this arrangement, and the clergy, who are dependent on both, do not object. These operations are viewed as works of necessity. If the Scottish clergy were equally dependent on their flocks, they would not prohibit (as they actually do in some cities) the labouring poor from burying their dead relations on Sundays, under pretence that this is a desecration of the day; causing, by this sanctimoniousness, the loss of a day's labour to these suffering people, at the very time when sickness and death increase their necessary expenses.

Dec. 19. Ther. 8°. Our English thermometer now ceases to be serviceable. It is graduated only to 10° above zero, and to-day the mercury has fairly disappeared in the bulb. An optician in Washington Street, Boston, gave me 8° as the temperature in the morning, and mentioned that occasionally the English opticians, when sending scales for thermometers to the United States, forget the difference of the climate, and send them graduated only to zero, or to 10° above it. They should range down to 50° below it.

Music taught in Common Schools.—I attended a lesson given by Mr Lowell Mason in vocal music to the girls attending the Hancock common school in Boston. About 200 of them were instructed for half an hour. They are taught only two half hours in the week, but their attainments are very considerable. They read music, analyze the notes, and detect false notes both in rhythm and melody, when played on the pianoforte or sung. They give the notes of the common chord in the various positions. They sung three songs extremely well, observing both time and tune with great accuracy. The influence of this instruction in refining their taste, and opening up a source of innocent enjoyment to them, must be valuable. Mr Mason is employed by the public authorities, and is remunerated from the common school fund.* He appears to be a first-rate teacher; and it is gratifying to see high talent devoted to the improvement of the common people in a branch of the fine arts which, a few years ago, was little prized even by the wealthy citizens of the United States. Although the food of the common people in Boston is abundant and nutritive, and these girls were well dressed, I regretted to observe that their bodily condition did not indicate robust health. Some appeared to have distorted spines, or depressed

* Not only do concerts *à la Musard*, at one shilling for the admission of each person, prosper in Edinburgh, but the labouring classes also have concerts this winter (1840-41) in Dun-Edin Hall, to which the admittance is only twopence, and these are crowded every evening. They are patronised by the Temperance Societies, and are valuable auxiliaries to civilization.

and narrow chests, and most of them presented that waxy, sodden appearance of the skin, which indicates breathing vitiated air, and absence of sufficient exercise. The school-room was well ventilated, so that they must have suffered at home. This is the more lamentable, as in this country these imperfections are the result not of poverty and physical degradation, as they often are in Britain, but of ignorance or want of resolution to act in conformity with the laws of health.

Dec. 20. Ther. 6°. *The Organ of Number.*—A gentleman who kindly undertook the management of the tickets for my lectures at Lowell, wrapped up the sum received from each bookseller in a separate paper, and made the person who paid it, mark on the parcel the amount it contained. When he paid the bills for advertising, &c., he took the money wanted out of one of the parcels, and put the receipts for the payments into it, and brought the whole sums collected to me in this form. Not understanding why he had done this, I placed the contents of the whole parcels together, and asked him how much he had received, and how much he had paid. He could not tell! I then observed that his organ of number was deficient, and he told me that he had adopted this method to "avoid confusion." My own organ of Number being equally small, we tried, both by the pen and by counting the money, to discover the amount; but neither of us could succeed! We finally parted, much to our own amusement, without either of us having been able to find out the aggregate sum

either received or paid, and certainly it was not the magnitude of the amount that caused our difficulties. A deficiency of this kind, when it occurs in the organ of Number, occasions only amusement; but I never experience its effects without sincerely sympathising with those individuals who are as defective in the organs of Conscientiousness or Causality as I am in that of Number. They stand as much in need of external guides to virtue and wisdom as a man in my condition does of a ready reckoner; and they are equally unfit to fill situations in which active honesty and reflection are necessary to success, as such a man would be to discharge the duties of a teller in a bank.

Politics of American Authors.—The Whig party in America claims the wealth of the Union on their side, and the Democrats claim the genius. One of the Democratic papers cited the names of Irving, Cooper, Bryant, Leggett, Bancroft, Alexander Everett, Brownson, Nat. Willis, Fay, Prescott, Langtree, O'Sullivan, Nathaniel Greene, among other men of literary talents, as belonging to their party. The "Boston Atlas" answered this boast as follows:

"We have only one observation to make, and that is, that somehow or other it has always happened, that, as a general rule, your poets, your story-tellers, your historians, your wits, nay, even your philosphers, have been great worshippers of *power*, in whatever hands for the time being it might happen to be deposited; and that, after all, the approbation or the praises of this sort of gentry must ever be regarded as a very uncertain test or proof of merit." I should like to see a list of men of genius classed under the heads of Whig and Tory. The general idea is that genius is liberal.

Dec. 21. Ther. 8°. *Mrs Gove's Lectures.*—This day C—— attended one of Mrs Gove's lectures to ladies. The subject was the effects of tight lacing and bad ventilation. The lecture was good, and the attendance was about 300, all females.

Dec. 22. Ther. 18°. *Fires.*—At 11 o'clock this night we felt a strong smell of burning in our parlour, and in a few minutes it was full of smoke. The hotel (the Pavilion) has shops below it on the level of the street, and one of them, directly beneath our apartments, was on fire. The porter of the hotel discovered the fire by the lurid light and smoke issuing from the shop window. The engines arrived with great promptitude, and it was extinguished. An iron stove full of coals had been left burning in the shop, and the radiation of the heat had ignited a wooden partition at the distance of three feet. The prospect of being driven to the street at midnight, with the temperature at 18°, was not very agreeable; but our only wonder is that we have escaped so long. There has been another very extensive fire in Cedar Street, New York. The loss is stated at $500,000, and its origin is ascribed to incendiaries, who profit by stealing goods during the conflagration. The absence of a police force enables them to perpetrate this wickedness on a grand scale. A New York newspaper describes the scene as follows:—

"To those who were not witnesses of the conflagration on Saturday night, it is impossible to convey an idea of the scene it presented. Such a collection of blackguards and rowdies imagination can scarcely conceive, and the merchandize carrying

about in all directions, without any one to look after it, or see that it was deposited in safe hands, would seem to say, that property had lost all value. As to the city watch, they scarcely trouble themselves to inquire—we know they rarely can tell—where the fire actually is when one does occur.

"The reports published by us of the fire commissioners shew that, in their opinion, the great majority of fires which take place are intentional, and yet we hear of no prosecutions for arson, the most atrocious of crimes. As matters are now going on, it is impossible for insurance offices to stand the losses—it is impossible for the commerce or inhabitants of the city to pay them remunerating premiums. If the public authorities will not stir, will not take effective measures to arrest the evil, individuals, from every consideration of private interest and public duty, ought to combine on some plan to save themselves and the city of their residence from the destruction which hourly awaits them."

After this the merchants did institute a private watch, and in some degree mitigated the evil.

CHAPTER V.

Frauds—Debts of Cities—Dr Spurzheim's Birth-day—Phrenology and Education—Lunatic Asylum at Worcester—History of Religious Freedom in Massachusetts—Journey from Springfield to Albany—Albany, from 10th January to 11th February—Dissection of the Brain—Albany Female Academy—Dr Sprague's Collection of Autographs—Newhaven.

1839.

Dec. 25. Ther. 26°. This is Christmas day, and in Boston all the world is abroad enjoying the fine bright weather. Public worship is performed in the Catholic and Episcopalian churches, but not in the others. The stores belonging to members of these sects are closed, but the rest of the community who observe the day at all, dedicate it to feasting.

Frauds.—A fraud to the extent of a million of dollars has lately been exposed, perpetrated by the cashier of the Schuylkill bank in Philadelphia. He sold shares to that amount in the bank of Kentucky, and appropriated the proceeds to his own purposes, or to those of the bank over which he presided, which also has failed. On the 23d December, Judge Bouvier, sitting in the court of criminal sessions at Philadelphia, delivered the following charge to the grand jury:—

"Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,—Within a few days occurrences have transpired calculated to throw a gloom and dismay, not only in the commercial world, but also among the honest people in the middle and poorer ranks of society, which require

from the court and the grand jury a full and impartial investigation. Men who have heretofore stood erect in society, and whose integrity never was doubted, have been publicly accused of committing the vilest frauds. Men who stood in high places have for a series of ten or fifteen years astonished the community by the boldness of their crimes. Scarcely one shock of the moral feeling has subsided before another has succeeded, and the people, even those who have been robbed by these men of good standing, have viewed, after the first moment of indignation was over, the whole matter with apathy.

"Trace back the history of our public men for the last fifteen years, and you find some of those who have filled high official and other stations have been charged with forgeries, perjuries, and conspiracies. They have not been guilty of these offences, gentlemen, to get bread for their starving families, but to make a fortune by a dash, regardless of the means,—to come out, if successful, in society, and by their wealth to claim distinction, and to be placed above the virtuous but poor man. The spirit of speculation has swept over the land, and carried away the frail virtue of those who became its worshippers. Enterprise, gentlemen, with industry, punctuality, and a high sense of mercantile honour, ought to be cherished; but the recklessness of the gambling and dishonest speculator ought to be discountenanced and discouraged, or the bands of society must be loosened, confidence between man and man destroyed, and fair trade must cease.

"Let but the poor starving wretch break into a house to procure what he conceives he needs, and what perhaps he actually does want, and the public voice is raised to a clamour against the daring villain. He is arrested, and brought to trial and speedy and certain punishment. What idea, gentlemen, think you, he will entertain of human justice when he perceives 'respectable offenders' unpunished—when he sees the man who has robbed the helpless widow, age tottering on the grave, and childhood, unable to provide for itself, of their little aid—when he beholds one who has robbed of millions go unpunished, under the pretext that the law does not reach the case, or out of a

sickly compassion to the offender or his family. This is the pity which spares the tiger that he may feed upon your children. Hold in your hands the scales of even-handed justice, and be not deterred in the performance of your duty from presenting offenders who have filled high places. Let not the poor man be able to say there is one kind of justice for him, and another for the rich. Do your duty 'without fear, favour, or affection.'

"You are aware, gentlemen, that I allude to the disgraceful disclosures which have been made within a few days, of alleged frauds by certain persons connected with the Schuylkill bank of this city. You have a right, and it is your duty, to investigate this business, and to send for persons and such papers as may be lawfully called for by a court of justice, and ascertain whether there has been any violation of law, and if so, by whom.

"You will be careful not to be carried away by your abhorrence of the crime so far as to present any one without reasonable proof of his guilt."

This charge embodies the sentiments which I heard generally expressed by the respectable members of the community on this occurrence. The cashier escaped to Europe; but a statement appeared assuring the public that the proceeds of the Kentucky Bank stock fraudulently sold, had been applied, not to his private use, but to support the Schuylkill Bank.

Debts of Cities.—The individual property of the citizens of Boston, New York, Rochester, and I believe of other towns, is liable, by the law of the States, to attachment for debts contracted by their civic rulers, and the liability has been enforced. When, in any of these cities, opposition is made to a tax for paying the interest of the public debt, a few of the largest creditors immediately commence processes against the parties who oppose; and speedily they petition for an assessment for their own relief. The

law reserves to every citizen who has paid a debt under these processes, a claim for a rateable reimbursement from all the other inhabitants, but this form of redress is so tedious and expensive, that few resort to it. They prefer aiding the Incorporation to raise the necessary funds by general assessments. The bonds of these cities (which yield those of Boston 6, and those of New York and Rochester 7 per cent.) are regarded as among the most secure investments in the United States. This state of the law under democratic institutions contrasts favourably with the provisions of the law under the aristocratic legislature of Great Britain. The civic corporation of Edinburgh borrowed large sums of money on bonds; built a high school, churches, and other expensive erections, for the use or ornament of the city; and then declared itself bankrupt. The law protected these edifices as public property, sacred to social purposes, and also the property of the individual citizens from attachment. The civic corporation which contracted the debts, essentially enjoyed the privilege of self-election, and the citizens had no efficient control over its actions. The law, therefore, regarded the lenders as having trusted for repayment solely to that portion of the Corporation's property which could legally be alienated or attached for debt. In the American cities, the inhabitants at large elect their rulers, and are therefore justly held responsible for the debts which they contract. Since the Burgh Reform Act came into operation in Scotland, the citizens have enjoyed the right to elect the civic councils,

but the law still exempts them from individual responsibility for the public debts.

Dec. 31. Ther. 0°. *Dr Spurzheim's Birth-Day.* This is the anniversary of the birth-day of Dr Spurzheim, and of the institution of the Phrenological Society of Boston. In the morning I waited on Mr William Sturgis, who erected the monument in Mount Auburn to his memory, and thanked him cordially for the tribute of respect which he had paid to his memory. He said that he admired Dr Spurzheim's sound sense, and warm philanthropy, but knew nothing about Phrenology. He repeated, that it was his shrewdness of observation, simplicity of manners, and goodness of heart, that won his esteem. In the evening I delivered an address before the Phrenological Society in the Melodeon, lately the Lyon Theatre, which the public were invited to attend. The order of proceeding was the following:—Mr Pierpont delivered an appropriate prayer; various airs were performed on an excellent organ; the address was read; and Mr Green pronounced a benediction. The attendance exceeded 600 persons, and would have been larger, but for the circumstance, that at the same time Governor Everett delivered the introductory address to the Lowell lectures in the Odeon, and had an audience of at least 1500.

Phrenology and Education.—So much interest was excited by my three lectures on education, that, in compliance with the request of numerous friends, I devoted the month of December to repeating them in the following places, and to all the courses the as-

sistant-teachers of the common schools were admitted free.

In Boston, to the teachers in the Odeon, and again to the subscribers to the Lyceum. I was told that 1500 persons attended this last course.

In Salem, Lowell, and Worcester, each of which towns is accessible by a railway. The audiences who attended these lectures were numerous, averaging from two to three hundred each. I received more invitations to repeat these lectures than it was possible for me to comply with.

Having been invited to lecture in Albany in January 1840, I left Boston on the 1st of that month, and remained at Springfield, where also I delivered the three lectures on education, and where again we passed a most agreeable week. I am under the necessity, from the length to which this work has already extended, of omitting many observations relative to these places, and the excellent persons with whom we became acquainted in each of them; and can only remark, that, in the New England villages, there is an amount of moral worth and intellectual attainment that redeems the country from the blots which its reputation sustains by the gambling speculators and ambitious politicians of the great cities, whose public actions attract the chief notice of a stranger, and give in his eyes their own character to that of the whole country. There is a sound kernel of honesty and worth in "old Massachusetts" that will preserve her amidst all her trials.

Lunatic Asylum at Worcester.—In vol. i. p. 53,

I have described this Institution. On 28th December I visited it again, and met Mr Salisbury, one of the Inspectors named by the State, commencing his official visitation. I was invited to accompany him, and entered every cell and apartment, and saw every patient in the Institution, and nothing could exceed the excellent condition in which it appeared. Only four or five furious and filthy patients were found among the whole, and they are lodged in a separate building, so distant that their noise cannot annoy the general inmates of the hospital. Each of these persons was in a distinct cell, the walls of which are of brick, and the floors of mica-slate pavement, heated by fire applied below. The light is admitted from the passage. In one of the cells was a musician, who tears every thing to pieces, and is excessively dirty. He was seated on the warm stone-floor, clothed in a very strong and thick cotton vestment, which descended to his ankles. His organs of Time and Tune remained sound amidst the wreck of nearly all his other faculties. I heard him, while thus seated, play several tunes on the flute, with correctness and expression. His head is well formed, with the exception of a predominating Destructiveness. His temperament is nervous-sanguine, and the organs of Imitation and Ideality, as well as those of Time and Tune, are largely developed. Dr Woodward gave the patients of the hospital a ball on Christmas eve. They themselves decorated very tastefully one of the corridors, with boughs of evergreens, and converted it into a handsome ball-room, which I saw. They looked

forward to the entertainment with great interest for many days before Christmas, and it is still affording them a pleasing theme of conversation. It proved very successful, and even this musician performed a part in it.

Dr Woodward is an enlightened phrenologist, and he assured me that his conviction increases, the more he observes, that the cases are extremely rare in which the whole of the mental organs are involved in disease; and that this conviction led him to try the experiment whether this individual could not be enabled to command himself at the ball. He explained to him the preparations that had been made; asked him if he would like to attend. This wakened up a thousand impressions received in his best days of health and usefulness, and he professed his desire to assist and to play in his professional capacity. Dr Woodward adverted to his dress, and said that he must appear in the costume of a gentleman, and must conduct himself with decorum, as the only conditions on which he could be admitted. He engaged to comply with both stipulations. When all things were prepared on the evening of the ball, the keepers entered his cell, dressed him in a decent suit of clothes, and led him to his seat among the musicians, and instantly the band struck up, and the dancing commenced. He played in perfect tune and time. One of the keepers was stationed behind him all the evening to prevent accidents, in case of his losing command of himself; but there was no need for his interfering. For three hours he continued to play and

conduct himself with perfect propriety. At the end of two hours he complained of fatigue, and said that he believed that formerly he used, about this time, to receive a glass of wine. A glass of wine was given to him, he drank it, and played on, till the close of the entertainment. He was then reconducted to his cell, and had hardly entered it when he recommenced tearing his clothes. In Dr Conolly's instructive Report on the Hanwell Lunatic Asylum, 1840, he remarks, that "the principle of changing all the circumstances surrounding a lunatic is evidently one capable of application in certain cases, and in certain periods of the malady, with singularly felicitous effects." (P. 26.) This instance in the text shews how powerfully a change of circumstances may affect a lunatic even in the most hopeless condition. In this case, the effect was temporary, but it was great while it lasted.

Dr Woodward mentioned that he allows about one-fourth of the inmates of the Asylum to go into the village on specific errands unattended, and only one man has escaped; and he did so after being enticed by some acquaintance to drink. Social parties, with music and dancing, are given from time to time, which, with religious worship on Sundays, have an excellent effect on the minds of the patients. The music is supplied entirely by the patients themselves.

I saw in the hospital a woman, who, in a fit of religious and destructive mania, had attempted to cut off the heads of two of her children. Philoprogenitiveness was deficient, and Destructiveness enormous-

ly large. A man who is insane in regard to wealth, imagining himself to possess incalculable riches, has the organs of Acquisitiveness standing forth in such ample size and well-defined forms, that they attract the eye in looking at him even in passing. Ideality is also large, and in his imagination he applies his wealth to gorgeous purposes. There were other striking examples of the concomitance between the peculiar features of monomania and the size of particular organs in the brain; and Dr Woodward expressed his surprise how any man, living in charge of an hospital for the insane, and capable of mental analysis and physical observation, reasonably acquainted with Phrenology, could avoid conviction of its truth.

He mentioned that he receives many shoemakers as patients. This class is numerous in New England; but he believes that insanity is produced beyond an average extent among them by their breathing vitiated air in their hot, small workshops, without ventilation, and by their unfavourable position when working. The frequent mention of bad ventilation in this work may appear to some of my readers almost like a monomania on the subject in its author, but the evidence of its injurious consequences meets one everywhere. "Dr Lombard, whose researches (into the causes of pulmonary consumption) are founded on a total of 4300 deaths from phthisis, and 54.572 individuals exercising 220 different occupations, found, by a comparison of all the professions carried on in the open air and in workshops, that the proportion of deaths from phthisis was *double* among the latter, and this proportion increased as the apartments were close, nar-

row, and imperfectly ventilated." * Dr Woodward mentioned that he receives also many sailors as patients, whose insanity is produced by intemperance and exposure to severe hardships at sea. The cures in cases of less duration than one year amount to 85 per cent. on an average of six years.

Dr Woodward has published a valuable pamphlet, strongly urging the advantage of instituting "asylums for inebriates." His reasoning may be briefly stated thus: "1. Intemperance is a physical disease. 2. It is curable in the great majority of cases, if not always. 3. The greatest existing difficulty in effecting this end commonly arises from the extent of the *temptation* to which the patient is uniformly exposed. 4. The best remedy for this state of things is to *confine* the individual, with a view to the avoidance of this temptation, and to the adoption of whatever other measures are necessary for this cure,—till he *is* cured,—under charge of an institution expressly adapted to the purpose." The subject has attracted considerable attention in the United States; and as Dr Woodward's views are unquestionably sound, both physiologically and morally, I hope to see Massachusetts adding to her other claims to public admiration, that of being the first to carry his suggestions into effect.

History of Religious Freedom in Massachusetts.—No circumstance presents a more interesting subject of reflection than the change which has taken place in religious opinion in some parts of Switzerland, Protestant Germany, and Massachusetts, since the Reformation. Geneva was then the stronghold of Calvinism, and now it is, to a great extent, Unitarian; and, for a long period, Massachusetts was one of the

* Article "Phthisis" in Penny Cyclopædia.

most orthodox States in the Union, while now it is celebrated for its liberal religious opinions. Originally, also, a tax for the support of religion was levied in this State; now this is abrogated, and the voluntary system is adopted in its stead. I have endeavoured to learn some particulars of the latter change.

For many years after the colonization of Massachusetts, nearly the whole population were rigid Calvinists, and none but members of the Church were freemen, or entitled to vote in the election of civil officers. As, however, nearly the whole settlers were of one faith, this scarcely operated as any restriction on civil liberty. At first, the parishes were territorial, the ministers were chosen by the members of the church, they were ordained by an ecclesiastical council, and, without any special legislative enactment on the subject, they were understood to be settled during life and good behaviour, *ad vitam aut culpam*. In 1654 authority was given to the county-court to assess upon all the inhabitants living within the parish a proper sum for the support of their minister. This law was re-enacted in 1669. For nearly two centuries no exemptions were admitted, except in the case of the Quakers. After Massachusetts ceased to be an English colony, she framed a constitution for herself; but still the old system prevailed. Some years later, however, a relaxation took place, and it was enacted, that if any individual conscientiously dissented from the Protestant Calvinistic faith of the parish minister, and actually attended on the services of another pastor, he should still pay the tax in support of reli-

gion, but that his own minister should be entitled to draw the amount from the public treasury. Afterwards, the dissenter was allowed to pay his tax directly to his own minister, the law having provided a process by which he could "sign off" from the minister of the parish, and attach himself to any other; but, until about the year 1830, every man was compelled by law to pay tax to some religious society. Since that date, certain amendments in the constitution of the State have been adopted by the people, in virtue of which every man is left free to support religious worship anywhere, or nowhere, at his option. This has entirely altered the relation between the people and the clergy. The latter are now dependent entirely on their flocks for support, as much so as a lawyer on his clients, or a physician on his patients. The number of churches has since increased, the attendance on them is greater, and I was assured that the sums now paid voluntarily in support of religion very considerably exceed the highest amount of the compulsory assessments.

These changes did not take place without severe contests. In 1641 the power of *electing* church-officers, comprehending the minister, was vested *in the church*. By this colonial statute the right of *ordaining* the minister was also given to the church, which enjoyed likewise the power of admitting, recommending, dismissing, and expelling, or otherwise disposing of its own members, upon due cause, "according to the rules of the Word." In 1668 it was thought necessary to enact again, that the church should elect her

own officers; and in this statute the term *church* is defined to mean those who are in full communion only. The "teaching officer" of the church is also declared to be synonymous with the "minister of the whole people." This statute farther provided that no inhabitant of any town should challenge a right unto, or act in, the calling or election of such officer or minister until he be in full communion, upon the penalty of being accounted a disturber of peace and order; and he is ordered to be punished by the court of the shire, either by admonition, security for good behaviour, fine, or imprisonment, according to the quality or degree of the offence.

In the 4th of William and Mary, an act was passed by the Legislature, vesting the appointment of ministers in the inhabitants of the town, and providing that if they neglected to exercise this right for six months, the court should provide a minister, and cause him to be settled within the town. This statute confirmed the other privileges of the church. In the same year another statute was passed, vesting the power of choosing the minister in the major part of the inhabitants of the town, but restricting them in the choice to a person of "good conversation, able, learned, and orthodox." In another statute it is declared that, upon farther consideration, the method here proposed for the choice of a minister, has, in divers towns, been found impracticable, and it is abrogated. By section 9th of this last statute, the power of election is restored to the *church*, on the condition that "the major part of such inhabitants as do there

usually attend on the public worship of God, and are by law duly qualified for voting in town affairs," *concur*. It is also enacted that all the inhabitants should be liable for the minister's support.

In two years the system was again changed; for it was enacted, that, when the church should make choice of a minister, if the town did not concur, the church might call in a council of the "elders and messengers" of three or five neighbouring churches: to which council the power was given of examining and deciding upon the question between the town and the church, and if they approved of the choice of the church, the minister might be settled notwithstanding the non-concurrence of the town.

No other law was passed upon the subject during the continuance of the Provincial Government. The "constitution" of 1780, and a statute passed in 1800, vested the right of election of the minister in the *majority of the parish*.

From these several colonial and provincial regulations, the efforts of the churches to obtain, preserve, and, when lost, to recover their power in the choice of ministers, is abundantly obvious. The circumstances which led to the final overthrow of this power were the following:—A church was defined by law to consist of those individuals only who were in full communion; and the clergy early discovered that, by adopting stringent rules relative to communion, they might concentrate the electors into a small body, and exercise considerable influence over them. They accordingly did so. Every candidate for admission

to the table of the Lord, before being admitted, was called on to satisfy the church not only in regard to the soundness of his doctrinal belief, but of the fact that he had experienced a change of heart. In proportion as liberal opinions increased, the communion-table was more and more strictly fenced, until, in the progress of time, "the church," that is to say, the persons in full communion, became a mere fraction of the inhabitants of the parish. But the constitution of 1780, and the statute of 1800, vested the election of the minister in the "majority of the parish." In the parish of Dedham the church became vacant: a majority of the inhabitants elected Mr Lamson, a Unitarian, as their minister; the majority of the communicants, who were rigidly orthodox, refused to acknowledge him. After a minister is chosen, it is the custom to call in an ecclesiastical council, composed of the neighbouring ministers, to "ordain" him in his office. The majority of the inhabitants called in a council of clergymen of their own opinions, who proceeded in due form to "ordain" Mr Lamson. The majority of the communicants, however, refused to concur in the invitation to this council, and maintained that without their consent it was void, and the "ordination" null; and their deacons insisted on retaining the property of the church.

Mr Lamson and the majority of the inhabitants proceeded to elect church officers, who although, like their minister, rejected by the majority of the "communicants," brought an action of *replevin* in the Supreme Court against the orthodox deacons,

"for the recovery of sundry bonds and other securities for the payment of money, together with the records and documents of the church aforesaid."

The orthodox party, among other points, pleaded that "ordination" was indispensable to the settlement of a minister of the Gospel, agreeably to the usages and practice of the Congregational Churches in the State, and that Mr Lamson was not "ordained" by a council chosen by the church. If this plea had been sustained, it would have given the church at least a *veto* on the minister chosen by the inhabitants, but the Supreme Court decided against it. The report of the decision mentions, that "The first minister of *Salem* was set apart by the lay brethren, accident having prevented the clergy who were expected from attending; and though, after they arrived, they participated in the ceremony by giving the right hand of fellowship, this act was not an essential part of ordination. We consider, then, the non-concurrence of the church in the choice of the minister, and in the invitation to the ordaining council, as in no degree impairing the constitutional right of the parish. That council might have refused to proceed, but the parish could not by that have been deprived of their minister. It was right and proper, as they could not proceed according to ancient usage, because of the dissent of the church, to approach as near to it as possible, by calling a respectable council, and having their sanction in the ordination. And it was certainly wise in that council, finding that the points of disagreement were such as would be likely to cause a permanent separation, to yield to the wishes of the parish, and give their sanction to proceedings which were justified by the constitution and the laws of the land. They ordained him over the parish only; but, by virtue of that act, founded upon the choice of the people, he became not only the minister of the parish, but of the church still remaining there, notwithstanding of the secession of a majority of the members. Mr Lamson thus became the lawful

minister of the first parish in Dedham, and of the church subsisting therein; and he had a right to call church meetings, and do all other acts pertaining to a settled and ordained minister of the Gospel. The church had a right to choose deacons; finding that the former deacons had abdicated their office; and thus no legal objection is found to exist against their right to maintain this action." The court found the new deacons entitled to the property of the church.—*Eliphalet Baker and another* versus *Samuel Fales, Norfolk October Term* 1820, *Tyng's Reports*, vol. xvi. p. 488.

While the practice prevailed of supporting the clergy by a tax raised on all the inhabitants, and of electing them by the votes of the communicants only, the result was, that, under pretence of purifying the communion-roll, they surrounded the table of the Lord by their own adherents, and by amiable but weak-minded persons; the first attached to them by deep devotional feelings, and the latter prepared submissively to adopt whatever they suggested;—while they alienated the strong-minded, enlightened, and independent members of the parish, by their wide departures from charity, peacefulness, and common sense. The Calvinistic churches all over the State became a kind of close corporation; united by one common interest, and standing in opposition to those who refused to bow the neck to their yoke. The "communicants" were so thoroughly disciplined, that the election of ministers, although ostensibly belonging to them, was, *de facto*, effected by the clergy; because, when a minister died, the orthodox brethren whom he had called in to assist him in his ministrations, recommended a successor to him, when dead, and, as a general rule, the communicants piously gave effect

to their suggestion. Under this system, Unitarianism and other forms of dissent from the ancient Calvinistic faith, multiplied and flourished abundantly, until, as in the case of Dedham, the "church" and its communicants became a mere fraction of the people, and often also the slenderest in point of influence and intelligence in the parish.

After the law was altered, and the ministers were rendered wholly dependent, not on the communicants, but on the people, the conduct of the Calvinistic clergy underwent a remarkable change. They found themselves dethroned from their ecclesiastical dominion, and, instead of directing all their measures to the sustenance of their own power, under the guise of guarding the purity of the communion-table, they threw themselves unreservedly on the affections and intelligence of their whole flocks, and became more diligent, more practical, more rational, and far less arrogant and exclusive. The consequence was, that the progress of dissent and Unitarianism received a check. At this moment, from the best information which I can obtain, Unitarianism is either not at all, or only very slowly, progressive in Massachusetts; many persons assure me that there has been even a reaction in favour of Calvinism;—Calvinism, however, is no longer presented in its ultra forms, and is itself undergoing modifications. All pretensions on the part of the clergy to a spiritual dominion, independent at once of the civil power and of the people, are completely laid aside.

These facts are instructive to the people of other

countries. In Scotland, the clergy of the Established Church are labouring to bring matters into the condition from which the people of Massachusetts, after long and painful struggles, have only recently escaped. In Scotland, the law endows a minister for every parish out of the tithes or teinds payable from the lands lying within its boundaries. The right of nominating ministers is a privilege belonging in some instances to the Crown, in others to one or more private individuals, who are styled the patrons of the parish. The restrictions on the patron's right of nomination are twofold. He must choose a person previously licensed as a preacher by a church court of the establishment; and, after the presentation, the nominee must apply to a church court to "ordain" him in his office. Before this court every objection to his character, doctrines, or competency, may be stated either by the people of the parish, or by the members of the court themselves; and, on cause shewn, he may be rejected. A few years ago, however, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland passed a law authorizing the male heads of families on the "communion-roll" of the parish, to exercise a veto on the patron's nomination, *without shewing any cause;* and they instructed the territorial church courts, or presbyteries, to refuse "ordination" to every nominee who did not obtain the concurrence of a majority of these "communicants." Certain nominees who were "vetoed" under this law brought actions into the Supreme Civil Court to have it found and declared that they had right to the emoluments

of the parish, notwithstanding of the veto and of the refusal of the presbytery to induct them into the pastoral charge; and the civil court, and also the House of Peers on appeal, sustained their claim. The General Assembly next proceeded to deprive of their clerical character, and to depose, certain ministers who had acted in obedience to the civil court, and who were prepared to receive one of these nominees in defiance of the veto. The civil court has threatened to enforce obedience to the civil law; and in this state the dispute at present stands.

The clergy, meanwhile, are preparing to change their ground. They are now agitating for the entire abolition of patronage, and for the passing of a law to enable the church, in other words, "the communicants," to choose all the church officers. The parallel between Massachusetts and Scotland, in regard to this matter, is wonderfully complete: In Scotland, since the project of placing either a veto, or the power of election, in the hands of the communicants was started, the clergy have manifested great zeal in "purifying the communion-roll;" in other words, in doing what their brethren in Massachusetts did, placing on the roll their own stanch adherents, and such other persons as will be most easily led by their advice. They also are evidently becoming more Calvinistic in their preaching, more lofty in their pretensions to independent power, and they openly advocate the principle of setting the civil law at defiance, where it threatens to abridge their ecclesiastical authority.

The public mind in Scotland is scarcely awake to the most important principle involved in this struggle. It is the same as that which was implicated in the contest between the Calvinistic clergy and the people in Massachusetts,—religious freedom. The question to be determined in Scotland is, Whether the nation gave the endowments for the support of the religion of *the people*, or for the maintenance *of the tenets of a sect.* If the former was the object in view, then it is absurd to give either a right of veto or of election to the "communicants." The "communicants" necessarily represent only the sect to which they belong, and, according to the experience of other countries, they may be converted into puppets, by pulling the strings of which, the clergy of that sect will elect themselves to office, and claim to be the spiritual lords of the whole community. The efforts of the clergy will then be directed to managing the "communicants;" the more seriously inclined, and less vigorously minded of every parish will be sought out, to sit at the communion-table, and in doctrine and practice the clergy will address themselves to the task of commanding and leading this portion of their flocks; while, by their pretensions to universal and independent ecclesiastical power, and their aberrations from common sense, they will oppose the advance of knowledge and of liberal education; and finally, after having alienated the minds of the enlightened and independent members of the community, they will accomplish their own downfall, and religious freedom will be established.

If the endowments were provided to support the religion of *the people*, then the election of the ministers in Scotland, as in Massachusetts, should be given to the *inhabitants of the parish*. This would at least ensure *progress* in religious opinions; for if the people of any parish came to entertain views different from those of the present predominant sect, they would enjoy the power of electing a pastor capable of edifying their own minds.

In short, in my humble opinion, religion will never flourish in its full vigour in Scotland until the example of Massachusetts be entirely followed out, and all endowments be abrogated: But if the majority of the people desire an endowed church, they will do well to profit by the example now set before them, and to avoid giving the clergy of the sect which they choose to endow, the power of self-election through the machinery of the communicants; for such a measure will destroy the usefulness of the clergy, forge chains of intolerance and bigotry for the public neck, and erect a barrier of the most formidable description to the moral and intellectual progress of the nation.

While I was engaged in this inquiry into the history of religious liberty in Massachusetts, I placed several Edinburgh newspapers, containing "non-intrusion" speeches and debates, into the hands of several intelligent friends who had furnished me with information. In returning them, after perusal, they made some remarks which are worth recording. One phrase that frequently occurred in the addresses of

the established clergy, attracted particular attention; it was the assertion that "Jesus Christ is the sole head of our church." "We are contending for the crown rights of the Redeemer." One serious gentleman, on reading these expressions, said, "This sounds strangely to me. In Massachusetts every one of our sects, except the Roman Catholic, professes to have no head except Jesus Christ; that is to say, they disown all temporal heads; but we have no crown in this country to assign to the Redeemer, and we do not understand what a Christian means by the 'Redeemer's crown rights.' In this country, every one of our sects believes itself to be the true interpreter of the Divine mind, as it is revealed in the Scriptures, and, in this sense, each of them regards Jesus as their head, and themselves as his followers; but it would be viewed as unwarrantable presumption if each of them were to adduce Him as a guaranty for all its opinions and observances, and to ascribe these to him as his honours and privileges. The Unitarians might represent him, as their head, denying his own divinity; while the Trinitarians, also under his headship, might represent him as maintaining it; yet we do not see that he is, or can be, the head of the Church of Scotland, in any other sense than he is the head of our independent churches. The phrase seems to me to be used merely to operate on the feelings of the multitude; for we all know that Jesus never interferes with the proceedings of the clergy; and that under his headship they pursue whatever measures suit

their own interests for the time. He was the head of our Calvinistic church through all the struggles of which you have read, yet he never appears to have directed its clergy to forego any item of power, as long as it was possible for them to retain it. Here we are republicans; and while we all acknowledge allegiance to Jesus Christ as our federal head, we do not identify him with the several acts of our separate church governments. We endeavour to discover and practise his will; but we do not call our own ecclesiastical powers and privileges either his 'state rights' or 'his crown rights:' We claim his protection; but we offer him nothing in return except the homage of our hearts." Another individual remarked, "Surely your Scottish clergy conceive their own church to be synonymous with Christendom: I have always understood Christianity to be cosmopolitan in its principles and application. Their language may suit themselves and their own flocks; but as it is offensive to the common sense of Christians who live under different forms of ecclesiastical government, I cannot acknowledge it to breathe the genuine spirit of universal Christianity."

I was frequently asked how this great change in the spirit of the Scottish clergy, since the days of Robertson and Blair, had arisen. The only account of it which I could give was one which I had received, a few years ago, from an aged friend who was long an "elder" of one of the churches in Edinburgh, and who himself had witnessed the alteration. Before the breaking out of the French Re-

volution, said he, the Scottish clergy were distinguished for the liberality of their religious sentiments, and public rumour mentioned the intention of their leaders even to propose a revisal of the standards of the church. The men of property, the lawyers, and distinguished physicians, in general partook of the same spirit, and the people would have followed in their train without much hesitation. In this state of the public mind, the French Revolution broke out; the throne and the altar were overturned in France, and trampled under foot. The government and owners of property in Great Britain, became alarmed at the progress of French principles among their own people, and combined to resist them. Their great object was to rear bulwarks around the throne, for the protection, through it, of their private interests; and, viewing the altar as the principal pillar of the State, they became zealous supporters of religious institutions and observances. They patronized the church and courted the clergy: "I then saw," said the elder, "individuals of great political influence in Edinburgh, who for many years before had never entered a church door, ostentatiously walking up the High Street of Edinburgh, with bibles in their hands, to attend public worship; and they did not stop there, but hired evangelical tutors for their sons, and evangelical governesses for their daughters, and used all their influence to induce every loyal subject of King George the III. to follow their example. Their efforts were successful; the same spirit pervaded all classes of the community; a vast zeal was instantaneously evoked and put

into action; and serious impressions were communicated to the young. This ardour originated in worldly motives, and its chief object was the security of property; but the children knew nothing of the designs of their parents; they received the impressions in all sincerity, and they now constitute the mass of modern society. I have lived to see some of these political supporters of the altar desert its shrines, and return to their habits of religious indifference; but their children not only did not fall away from the principles which had been instilled into them, but nearly broke the hearts of their parents by advancing into wild fanaticism, which the latter never contemplated without disgust. We are now in the midst of the re-action after the irreligious period of the French Revolution; and society must abide the maturity of another generation, or probably two, before reason will again exert any salutary influence over religious opinion in Scotland."

As the French Revolution had taken place long before I was capable of observing public occurrences, I am not able to judge of the merits of this explanation; but it bears strong indications of truth. One striking circumstance in the present contest between the church and the civil power in Scotland, is, that several men of talent, whose duty it was to view the question as statesmen, are found enlisted in the cause of the church, as mere religious partizans. The question, as I have already remarked, involves the religious freedom of the country. If the church shall be allowed to hold her endowments and make her own ecclesiastical laws, independently of the civil courts

and popular control, and to elect her own ministers and office-bearers by means of the communicants, Scotland will speedily be involved in a spiritual despotism which will bring back the dark ages, or lead to a new reformation. I have introduced these remarks, because no topic is more generally interesting in the United States than information concerning the condition and progress of religious institutions, practices, and opinions, in other countries.

Jan. 9. 1840. *Journey from Springfield to Albany.*—The cold has been as low as 8° below zero, and the ground is deeply covered with snow. The distance to Albany is eighty miles, and the road lies over mountains. It has been impassable for some days, but is now open; and as the thermometer is 5° above zero, the sky bright, and no wind, we resolved to proceed on our journey. We hired an exclusive extra mounted on two sleighs, and drawn by four horses. It was nearly twelve feet long, and four broad, and was seated for twelve persons. We occupied one end, and our luggage was piled up in the other. The body of the "extra," as high as our elbows, was composed of deal-boards, without stuffing or lining; from these boards to the roof it was inclosed simply by green baize curtains very ill fastened, the air entering freely in all directions. The bottom was littered with straw; at our feet we had a heated "soap-stone" of the size of a common brick, and a dressed buffalo skin, with the hair next us, and on our persons we wore abundance of shawls, fur-caps, cloaks, and great-coats. We set merrily off at nine

o'clock in the morning, and sleighed very smoothly for about twenty miles to Blandford, where we stopped and had an excellent dinner of fresh fried cod, brought up frozen from Boston, roast-beef, cranberry sauce, &c. Notice of our approach had been given by the mail-sleigh in the morning, and all was prepared for us. After dinner we proceeded on our journey; the snow became deeper, and only one track was open. When we met a vehicle of any kind, the two drivers dismounted, plied their spades vigorously, which they carried for the purpose, dug a hole in the snow on one side of the track sufficient to contain one of the carriages, drove it into the recess, made the other advance past it, and then extricated it, put it also on the track, after which each proceeded on his way. This occurred every half hour, and our advance was very slow. Sometimes our leaders, sometimes those of the opposing team, were unfastened and applied to drag the other carriage, or they were stowed away up to the belly among the snow to make room for other evolutions. The drivers were uniformly civil and good natured to us and to each other; but occasionally they would cry, "The woman must come out, and the man must come and hold on upon this here side to prevent her (the sleigh) from pitching over;" which orders we implicitly obeyed. The "woman" stood in the snow, the two drivers and the "man" hung by the rail on the roof of the coach, on one side, to prevent it toppling over and rolling down the side of the hill; while the horses, at the word of com-

mand, dragged it forward through immense wreaths of snow. We constantly overheard such scraps of conversation as these—"We'll take care any how, this d——d old thing (our vehicle) will tumble over as easy as not."—"Well, has she been over to-day yet?"—"Well, not yet," and so forth. On one occasion we met a heavy waggon drawn by three horses, and, to make way for us, its master moved it so much to one side that it was completely and deeply imbedded in snow. He assisted our coachman for half an hour with his spade, before a way for us could be excavated, and at last, when we got fairly past, all hands and horses were applied to extricate his waggon, but in vain. We were ready to start, leaving him alone with his three horses on a steep acclivity, and the sun already set, when he said, in perfect good humour—"Well, I guess I'll not get out of this fix this night, but I am glad that you are through any how." I asked him what he would do. "Take out my horses and go back," said he. At half-past nine P.M. we reached Stockbridge, and found an excellent room provided for us in Mr Gilpin's Inn, by the kind attention of Mrs Charles Sedgewick. This excellent family we found in affliction. Miss Catharine Sedgewick is in Italy with her brother, who is labouring under very infirm health, and Mr Theodore Sedgewick senior lately died suddenly of apoplexy at Pittsfield. They are distinguished in the United States for their superior talents and virtues.

I select the following description of this day's journey from C.'s Journal:—"I never saw so much

snow in my life, except at the Grindelwald Glacier, as on this journey, and never any so brilliantly, beautifully, bluely white. Wherever the wind had drifted it into little irregularities, or chinks had opened, we looked into crannies and miniature arches of the most intense sky colour, often appearing like the porticos to fairy palaces, and so mysteriously lovely that I longed to be a sylph and explore them, if so be that sylphs be insensible to cold. In other places the lovely unsullied wreaths were hanging about the snake fences and the small evergreen trees, in the most graceful draperies, and on some of the inequalities in the ground beside us, as we moved along, lay as in little waves, or were spread out in chiselled smoothness. The sun's rays reflected so many diamonds from the surface of the snow, that I was forced to close my eyes. The clearer atmosphere of this country must tend to these appearances, which I never noticed at home."

Next morning we proceeded towards Albany, and again I borrow C.'s description.—"The worst of the road was to come. We found it full of 'pitch-holes,' and unfortunately our next sleigh was one of a very inferior description. Pitch-holes mean holes in the snow into which the runners of the sleigh descend with horrid jerks, and in rising out of which the traveller is pitched up high off his seat, or which he again descends with a solid thump. The jolts and jars were so incessant and so severe that my spine literally felt as if shortened a couple of inches by the crushing of the cartilages between the several bones.

We dined at Chatham, and were again transferred to another sleigh; it was an old, dirty, wooden box, with the cobwebs of last summer hanging from the top and interstices between the deals of the roof, through which sun, wind, rain, and snow, had full liberty of ingress when they chose. A little before dark we crossed the Hudson on solid ice, and immediately drove to the Mansion-House Hotel."

Albany from 10*th January to* 11*th February.*—We remained in Albany during this interval. I delivered a course of twelve lectures on Phrenology in the Hall of the Female Academy, and was honoured by the attendance of an audience exceeding 200 persons, who received the lectures in the best spirit, and, at the close, passed the resolutions printed in the Appendix, No. VII. On the 17th of January the thermometer fell during the night to 30° below zero, and it was frequently 10°, 15°, and 20° below that point. I suffered no inconvenience from it; and on three nights of the week emerged from a temperature of 70° or 75° in the lecture-room, to these low degrees in the external air, without the slightest unpleasant sensation, except that I felt cold in the balls of my eyes, a feeling which I never experienced before. Occasionally the wind was high, and the cold was then intolerably severe; when the weather was calm, it was comparatively little felt. It was amusing, on these intensely cold days, to observe the efforts of the pigs, dogs, and poultry, to screen themselves from the wind and obtain a few consolatory rays of heat from the brilliant sun. Fortunately the wind came

from some points north of west, and they most ingeniously found out the lea and sunny side of projecting stairs, logs of wood, banks of earth, and other masses of matter, and stood in groups drinking in the heat. The horses that had been driven into perspiration, came into the town like moving automatons of frost work, every long hair being the centre of an icicle. I was surprised to discover the extraordinary degree of cold which these animals sustain with impunity. I saw them standing round the churches, tied to stakes or trees, with only a rug or buffalo skin thrown over them, for hours in succession, during divine service. The stables are made of only half-inch boards, and the joints are not covered, so that they form a slender protection from the cold; yet the horses are said to be healthy. One gentleman, who had passed some winters in Canada, told me that he saw a curious compact carried into effect in his own stable between his horse and his poultry. The moment that his horse was unharnessed and tied up in its stall, in winter, a whole flock of ducks, geese, turkeys, and hens, descended on his person and covered every inch of his horizontal surface from his eyes to his tail, and squatted down upon him. They gave and received warmth, much to the comfort and gratification of both parties. I saw the work of excavation proceeding in forming a new street. The earth, when newly exposed, steamed with excessive heat; it was 70° or 80° warmer than the air. Innumerable steam-boats, barges, sloops, and boats, were frozen up in the river and docks, and

the ice, 15 or 18 inches thick, seems like adamant around them. One wonder is how they will ever get out. There is much sleighing on the river, and the mail-coaches, coming from New York, travel many miles on it. The interiors of the houses are preserved comfortably warm by means of large fires of anthracite coal.

Dissection of the Brain.—During my stay in Albany Dr Hoyt came from Syracuse, a distance of nearly 150 miles, in intensely cold weather, bringing with him a brain prepared in alcohol, for the sake of seeing it dissected in the method taught by Drs Gall and Spurzheim. The dissection took place in one of the rooms of the Albany Medical College, and I was honoured by the attendance of some of the professors and other medical men. Dr M'Naughten had seen Dr Spurzheim dissect the brain in Dr Barclay's class-room, in presence of Dr Gordon, in 1816; but to most of the other gentlemen the method was new. It was gratifying to see so much zeal for knowledge as Dr Hoyt displayed in making so long a journey, at such a season, for a purely scientific purpose.

Albany Female Academy.—This may be described as a college for young ladies, administered by trustees, and supported to some extent by the State. In this institution Captain Marryat has forfeited some reputation. He mentions, that at the public examination he secretly assisted the young ladies in their French exercises, and received their acknowledgments confidentially for the favour; the young ladies maintain that all the rules of gallantry prescribed to the Captain an inviolable and eternal

secrecy on the subject; instead of observing which he has published an account of the whole transaction in his work on America; betraying their confidence, and, as they say, at the same time, indulging his own vanity. The teacher in whose department the alleged assistance was given, denies the possibility of such an incident having occurred without her having detected the Captain's interference; but this point must be settled between themselves. There is only one opinion, however, among all the ladies, young and old, plain and pretty, of the United States, who have read the Captain's narrative,—that, if his own story be literally correct, it was very unlike a British naval officer to reciprocate confidential favours with young ladies, and then to boast of his own achievement. I attended part of the semi-annual public examination of the academy, which commenced on Tuesday the 4th February 1840, and was continued on the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday immediately following. The programme of the examination will convey an idea of the nature of the institution, and of the subjects taught. The departments under examination (two proceeding at the same time in different rooms) were on

"Tuesday, A. M.—The 5th and 6th departments, and the classes in Mathematics belonging to the 1st and 2d departments.

"Tuesday, P. M.—The French classes under the care of Pro. Molinard.

"Wednesday, A. M.—The 4th department, and classes in Watts on the Mind, Mental Philosophy and Evidences of Christianity.

"Wednesday, P. P.—The 2d division of the 3d department, and classes in Physiology and Chemistry.

"Thursday, A. M.—The 1st division of the 3d department, and classes in Ecclesiastical History, Arnott's Physics, and Kaimes' Elements of Criticism.

"Thursday, P. M.—The class in Astronomy, under the care of the President.

"On Friday, at 2 o'clock P. M., the usual exercises will take place in the Chapel of the institution, when the compositions, both English and French, will be read.

"The examination commenced each day at 9 o'clock A. M. and 2 o'clock P. M."

The senior classes were composed of young ladies apparently from fifteen to seventeen years of age, and their attainments were highly creditable to themselves and to their teachers. They had committed to memory a vast extent of details in history, astronomy, chemistry, physiology, and the other branches before enumerated. It was mentioned by some persons, however, that they are stimulated to excess by emulation, and that they occasionally ruin their health by their exertions to gain prizes. This error is a serious one, for when knowledge is acquired by laborious efforts, not for its own sake, but to gratify the feelings of Self-Esteem and Love of Approbation, its *practical* value is not appreciated and it escapes from the memory when the gratification for which it was acquired has been attained. Information, on the contrary, recommended to the intellect by its inherent interest, and embraced by the moral affections from its practical utility, will become the stock and furniture of the mind through life, and, however limited in amount, it will be all real and permanently available. Much solid instruction, however, is obviously communicated in this academy. In the examinations in chemistry, for example, the

young ladies, without assistance or directions, performed numerous experiments, and gave the theory of the chemical actions involved in them. In the examinations on astronomy, they referred to an admirable orrery, as to a text book, with clear intelligence ; and so in the other branches. It was in history that the memory seemed to be chiefly overtasked, and, viewing their studies in the aggregate, the quantity of matter included in them appeared to be too burdensome to ordinary minds.

Dr Sprague's Collection of Autographs. — Dr Sprague's collection of autographs surprised me more than any other object in Albany. It is exceedingly extensive, rich, and valuable, and has been formed entirely by himself. He has whole volumes of autographs of literary men, and more than one devoted to those of crowned heads, embracing both the kingdoms of Europe and the United States, and extending over several centuries. He has correspondents in the European cities who procure for him new treasures as they appear. There are probably few more valuable collections in Europe.

The extreme cold, added to the severe suffering inflicted on C—— during the drive from Stockbridge to Albany, unfortunately involved her in much indisposition. She was confined to bed, and continued an invalid during our whole stay in Albany. We experienced fresh instances of American benevolence. The Rev. Dr Sprague kindly offered to receive us both into his house, and his daughter offered to become C——'s nurse ; other female friends offered

unreserved attendance on her in her illness. Dr M'Naughten, a Scotch physician, was most assiduous and successful in his treatment of her, and altogether, although I was prevented by this occurrence from going into society, or extending the circle of my acquaintances, we received renewed proofs of the generous kindness of the inhabitants. Just as the lectures terminated, C—— was able to travel, and Dr M'Naughten recommended to her to set out as speedily as possible for a more genial locality.

Having received an invitation to deliver a course of twelve lectures on Phrenology in New Haven, Connecticut, the seat of Yale College, we left Albany on the 12th, sleighed to Hartford, and proceeded thence by the railroad to New Haven, where we arrived on the 15th of February. On the 16th February the thermometer stood at 15°, which seemed a mild and almost a bland temperature, after having been accustomed to 0°.15, 0°.20, and 0°.28 at Albany.

New Haven.—We remained in New Haven from the 15th of February to the 20th of March. The audience attending my class included most of the professors, and a portion of the students of Yale College, and a large number of the citizens. It was the largest class, in proportion to the population, which I have had in the United States. Our accommodations in the Tontine Hotel were excellent; the town even in winter is beautiful and peaceful; we enjoyed the most agreeable and enlightened society; and C——'s convalescence was rapid and satisfactory. We had the pleasure of cultivating the acquaintance of Pro-

fessor Silliman, whose scientific reputation stands high not only in the United States, but in Europe. "The American Journal of Science and Arts," which has now reached its thirty-eighth volume, has long been and still is conducted by him with the most indefatigable zeal, and serves as the grand channel by which the discoveries of the old and new continents are reciprocally interchanged. He is a man of the most amiable and interesting character, full of kindness, and his manner is so pleasing that it is a common observation in Boston and New York, where he occasionally delivers lectures, that he can speak more plain truths to his class, without giving offence, than almost any other lecturer they hear. In the United States no man's status is lowered by employing his talents usefully, and the most distinguished professors in colleges lecture occasionally to popular audiences in the different towns without any derogation from their dignity. In New Haven we met also Professor Olmsted, Dr Taylor, whom I have already mentioned, Mr Noah Webster, the Johnson of New Haven, Mr Trumbull, the distinguished historical painter of the United States, the friend of Washington and Franklin, still using his brush, Professor Hooker, Mr Skinner, and other highly accomplished men. The comparative repose which this residence permitted I employed in throwing together some general ideas founded on the observations which have already been detailed. These I shall now present to the reader.

CHAPTER VI.

American Civilization.

1840.

March 20. *American Civilization.*—Mons. Guizot, in his "History of Civilization in Europe," has well observed that the degree of civilization which any age or country has attained is indicated by the "development of social activity, and that of individual activity; the progress of society, and the progress of humanity. Wherever the *external* condition of man is quickened and ameliorated—wherever the *internal* nature of man is exhibited with lustre and grandeur—upon these two signs the human race applauds and proclaims civilization, often in spite of fundamental imperfections in the social state." Let us apply these principles to the United States.

In no country, probably, in the world is the external condition of man so high as in the American Union. The enterprise, intelligence, activity, and economical habits of the people have multiplied to an astonishing extent all the physical elements of human enjoyment. It was observed to me by a gentleman who is minutely and extensively acquainted with the United States, that in this country no man who is able and willing to work need to go supperless to bed. This far he stated the fact. Labourers here are rich compared with the individuals in

the same class in Europe. Their food is wholesome and abundant; their dwelling-houses comfortable and well furnished; they possess *property*, and enjoy many of the luxuries which property, in a state of civilization, is capable of purchasing. The American cities contain great wealth; and reckoning the whole property, and the whole population of the Union, and dividing the value of the one by the sum of the other, my impression is that the product would shew a larger amount of wealth for each individual in the United States, than exists in any other country in the world, Great Britain alone probably excepted: In the United States this property is so equally diffused, that it is really national.

The formation of railroads and canals, the multiplication of steam-boats, ships, machinery, manufactories, and houses, the extension of the productive soil; in short, the advance of all that ministers to the well-being of "the external condition of man," proceeds in the United States on a gigantic scale, and with extraordinary rapidity. We must grant, therefore, that whatever other "imperfections" may exist "in the social state," this fundamental element of civilization abounds in a high degree.

The condition of the "*internal nature*" of man is the next index to civilization. The human mind is endowed with animal propensities, moral and religious sentiments, and intellectual faculties fitted for observation and reflection. The propensities and sentiments are blind impulsive powers, which inspire man with desires, and impel him to seek for

their gratification; but they do not discern either the mode of obtaining their own objects, or the extent to which they may be advantageously indulged. The province of intellect is to study and to acquire knowledge, and, when enlightened by it, to direct, guide, and restrain all the impulsive powers. The mind of an individual is perfect in proportion as it is capable of extensive action, of regulating itself in accordance with the rules of duty, and of finding its way to good in every sphere of its existence. If its scope of action be narrow; if it need external guidance; or if it fail to accomplish its own permanent welfare, it is imperfect in the degree in which it comes short in any of these particulars. I apply these data to measure the condition of the *internal* man in the United States.

The Anglo-Saxon race, which chiefly has peopled the United States, has been richly endowed by nature with mental qualities. It possesses, in a high degree, all the faculties classed under the three grand divisions before mentioned; but, to attain their complete development, they need cultivation. In the United States the development of the mind of the mass of the people is accomplished by the following influences:—1*st*, By domestic education. 2*dly*, By district schools. 3*dly*, By religious instruction. 4*thly*, By professional instruction; and, *lastly*, By political action.

1*st*, *Of Domestic Education.*—The object of education in the family circle is to develope and regulate the affections, as well as to instruct the understand-

ing. So far as a stranger can discover by observation, or learn by inquiries, the family education in the United States is exceedingly various, and depends for its character much more on the natural dispositions of the parents, than on any system of instruction. In general the parents are in easy circumstances, are happily matched, are good-natured, active, and frugal; and these qualities insensibly cultivate similar dispositions in the young; but there are of course numerous exceptions; and education has not advanced so far among the masses as to render domestic training systematic. Every family has its own manners, maxims, and modes of treatment. Speaking generally, the faculties of the child are allowed free scope in the family circle, without sufficient enforcement of self-denial, or of the subordination of the lower to the higher powers. The first useful lesson to a child is that of self-restraint, or of foregoing a present enjoyment at the call of duty, or for the sake of a higher, although more distant, good. Many American children appear to be indulged in their appetites and desires, and to be too little restrained in the manifestation of their propensities. Egotism, or the idea that the world is made for them, and that other persons must stand aside to allow them scope, is a feature not uncommonly recognised. The consideration of the manner in which their sentiments and modes of action, will affect other individuals of well regulated and well cultivated minds, is not adequately brought home to them. In short, the active manifestation of the moral

sentiments in refined habits, in pure and elevated desires, and in disinterested goodness, is not aimed at systematically as an object in domestic training. I speak of the masses composing the nation, and not of the children of well educated and refined individuals.

In intellectual cultivation, domestic education is still more defective, because in the masses the parents themselves are very imperfectly instructed.

On the whole, therefore, the domestic training and instruction appear to me to be imperfect, viewed in relation to the objects of enlarging the mind's sphere of action, of conferring on it the power of self-restraint, and also the ability to discover and successfully to pursue its own permanent welfare.

2*dly*, *Of Common School Education.*—From the various remarks which have already been presented in these volumes, the reader will be prepared to draw the inference that, viewed in relation to the three objects before mentioned, the common school education in the United States is also imperfect; I should say very imperfect. The things taught (chiefly reading, writing, and arithmetic) are not in themselves education. If sedulously and wisely applied, they may enable the individual to obtain knowledge; but the common schools stop short of supplying it. They even communicate very imperfectly the art of acquiring it; for some of the teachers are themselves ill qualified; their modes of teaching are defective, and the attendance of the children at school is brief and irregular. The addition of a library to each school-district was dictated by a perception of the magnitude

and importance of the deficiency in this department. It appears to me that besides great improvements in existing schools, still higher seminaries are wanted, in which the elements of natural, moral, and political science, with their applications to the purposes of individual and social enjoyment, may be taught to the whole people.

One, and probably the most important, element in an education calculated to fit an individual for becoming an accomplished member of the American democracy, is *training* the faculties to their proper modes of action. This can be accomplished only by calling them all into activity, and by communicating to the higher powers the knowledge and habit of governing the lower. Mere intellectual instruction is not sufficient for this purpose; the propensities and sentiments must be trained in the field of life. The anecdote mentioned in vol. ii. p. 153 is illustrative of this proposition. This end will be best accomplished by communicating to children the knowledge of their own faculties, and of their spheres of use and abuse, by placing them in circumstances in which these may be called into action, and superintending that action in such a manner as to cultivate the powers of rapid judgment and steady self-control. The play-ground is an important field for conducting this branch of education. The principles and practice of it are explained in the works of Wilderspin and Stow already referred to. This department of education is in a very humble condition in the United States; and yet to them it is all-important. Every one of

their citizens wields political and judicial power; he is at once the subject of the law and its pillar; he elects his own judges, magistrates, and rulers, and it is his duty to obey them. If ever knowledge of what is right, self-control to pursue it, and high moral resolve to sacrifice every motive of self-interest and individual ambition, to the dictates of benevolence and justice, were needed in any people, they are wanted in the citizens of the United States. A well *instructed* citizen will consider the influence of any law on the general welfare before he consents to its enactment, and a well *trained* citizen will not only obey that law when enacted, but lend his whole moral and physical energies, if necessary, to enforce its observance by all, until repealed by constitutional authority. An *ill instructed* citizen will clamour for the enactment of any law which promises to relieve *him* from an individual inconvenience, or to confer on him an individual advantage, without much consideration concerning its general effects; and an *ill-trained* citizen will seek to subject the magistrates, judges, and the law to his own control, that he may bend them in subserviency to his interest, his ambition, or his inclinations, from day to day, as these arise and take different directions. The *ill-trained* citizen takes counsel of his self-will; and self-will, uninstructed and untrained to the guidance of moral principle, leads to destruction.

Phrenology is calculated to benefit the people of the United States, by enabling both teachers and pupils to act with intelligence and co-operation in instruct-

ing and training. It presents views of each mental power, and of its spheres of use and abuse, so simple and intelligible that children can understand them, and teachers can act upon them.

Lecturing to the people in lyceums is extensively practised in the United States, and as a mode of public instruction it is well calculated to advance their intelligence; but hitherto, owing to the defects of their education in the primary schools, it has not yielded half its advantages. As formerly mentioned, the lectures delivered in lyceums are generally of a miscellaneous character, developing no subject systematically, and sacrificing profound interest to variety and temporary excitement; yet no other lectures would attract persons of mature age, whose minds had not been opened up, in their elementary education, to the value of scientific knowledge. If the simpler elements of the natural sciences were taught in childhood, the mind, when it expanded into vigour, would long for fuller developments of their principles, and the lectures in the lyceums might then assume a high character of usefulness.

Viewing the object of education, then, to be to communicate knowledge by which the sphere of the mind's action may be enlarged,—to train each individual to self-control and the love of good,—and to enable him, by these means combined, to pursue successfully his own welfare, the educational institutions of the United States appear generally to be defective.

3*dly*, *Of Religious Instruction.*—The objects of religious instruction are twofold; first, To obtain

alvation in a future life; and, secondly, To conduce to practical virtue in this world. I regard the first as belonging to the sphere of theology, and as beyond the jurisdiction, equally of the philosopher and the civil magistrate. By the principles consecrated at the Reformation each individual has the exclusive right of judging on this subject for himself, and for those whose souls Providence has intrusted to his care. I merely remark, that I perceive great differences existing in the opinions of American sects regarding, first, the extent of the danger to which the human soul is exposed in a future life; and secondly, the means by which this danger may be avoided; but that each sect exhibits a means of salvation which it considers commensurate with its own ideas of the danger. All profess to found their belief on a sound interpretation of Scripture; and as only the Great Judge of all can decide which has reached the largest portion of truth, we may hope that they may all prove essentially successful in accomplishing this important end. Instruction in the nature and extent of the danger, and in the nature and use of the means to avert it, constitutes a large portion of the religious education communicated to the young. The clergy of the various sects appeared to me to be most assiduous in the discharge of this duty; and from the extensive attendance on religious worship exhibited in every part of the Union which I have visited, their teaching appears to have excited that deep interest in the subject, which is the only legitimate proof, in this world, of their success. The grand motive of

the clergy of all sects is, no doubt, the love of souls; but there is a secondary consideration which is, probably, not without some effect in securing their exertions, namely, the knowledge that the acceptance of their peculiar doctrines regarding salvation is the tie which binds the people to their ministrations, and that the more successfully they impress a firm conviction of their views on their flocks, the more secure do they feel in obtaining the means of their own subsistence, and the greater also are their power and influence over their people. This branch of religious instruction, therefore, appears to be in a salutary and satisfactory condition in the United States.

But religious instructors teach also the morality and religion which ought to regulate human conduct in this world. In the great outlines of secular duty, all the Christian sects are agreed; and the clergy of all sects teach them to their flocks. In the course of my attendance in the churches of the United States, I could not, however, avoid making two remarks on this subject; first, that, in proportion as the tenets of any sect represented the dangers of eternal perdition to be great and imminent, and the means of salvation to be difficult, the clergy of that sect taught their own doctrinal views on these points more zealously and more extensively, and the practical duties of Christianity relatively less frequently; and *vice versa*. Secondly, That the teaching of practical duties was in the vast majority of churches exceedingly general, rarely descending to specific instructions regarding the proper line of conduct to be pursued

in the most momentous and difficult departments of life. This defect attaches to nearly all Christian churches, and appears to me to account for the rapid oblivion which overtakes sermons, as described in vol. iii. p. 124. If I were to draw a comparison in this particular, I should say that the practical affairs of life are more extensively introduced into the pulpits of the United States than into those of Scotland, and the notices of sermons which have been given will partly enable the reader to judge on this point for himself. Still, in this respect, religious teaching is generally defective, and I lament that it is so, because when the Creator introduced into the world a system of causation, in virtue of which, when circumstances are the same, one event follows another in invariable succession; and when He bestowed on man faculties of observation and reflection, rendering him capable of observing circumstances, and tracing the connection between causes and effects, he imposed on him the duty of observing, reflecting, and acting on system; and the moral world forms no exception to this rule. If the constitution of the world, mental and physical, be systematic, and if causation run through every department of it, then, while man acts without sufficient knowledge of, or reference to, the system of causes in the midst of which he exists; while he acts impulsively and blindly from the mere dictates of his inclinations, and upon superficial, limited, and inaccurate views of the qualities and adaptations of things which surround him, and which really determine his happi-

ness or misery, he does not rise to his proper rank of a rational being. When God framed him and the external world on these principles, He clearly conferred on him the rational character, and it is man's duty to conform to it. If this view be sound, every element of external nature, and every organ and function of the human mind and body which are capable, when properly used, of promoting human happiness, and when abused, of leading to misery, is a divine institution presented to man for his study, and as a guide to his practical conduct. The pulpit, in my opinion, will never discharge its duty to mankind, until it shall become the expositor also of "these doings of the Lord," and shall inculcate the observance of them *under the sanction of religion.* The pulpit thus employed would contribute more effectually than it now does towards enlarging the sphere of the mind's action,—presenting motives to self-control,—and directing each individual to pursue successfully his real welfare both for this world and the next. Sermons of this nature would also add greatly to the utility of the lyceums; because the people, finding the elements of natural knowledge invested with a religious interest, would apply themselves with more earnestness and patience to extend their studies under the guidance of scientific teachers.

4*thly, Professional Callings.*—The great majority of the people of the United States are engaged in arts, manufactures, commerce, navigation, agriculture, divinity, law, and medicine; and their pursuits are therefore useful, and productive of enjoyment.

As the paths of industry are rarely obstructed by bad laws or artificial obstacles, American civilization, in this department, will bear a favourable comparison with that of the most advanced nations. These avocations, however, do not fully develope the highest faculties of the mind. They cultivate Acquisitiveness, Self-Love, and the love of distinction, more than Benevolence, Veneration, Conscientiousness, and Ideality. They call the intellect into activity, but many of them do not necessarily direct it to moral objects. They are deserving of all praise as important elements of civilization, indeed as necessary to the very foundations of it; but in order to exhibit the "*internal* nature of man with *lustre* and *grandeur*," higher pursuits must be added to and mingled with them. The schools, colleges, and the pulpit, must supply the lustre and grandeur in which the avocations of common life are necessarily defective. Great improvements in professional attainments remain to be made in the United States. American divines are not in general so learned as those of England, but they appear to be more practical; while the professions of law and medicine in the rural districts, comprising nineteen-twentieths of the whole United States, stand in need of large accessions of knowledge to bring them to a par with the same professions in the enlightened countries of Europe. The improved education which I have suggested would render the practices of the professions in some degree scientific or philosophical pursuits, in which each individual would endeavour, in his vocation, to observe

the laws which the Creator has established as essential to success, and the calm calculations of reason would, to some extent, regulate the impulsive and empirical movements (vol. ii. p. 298) which have hitherto been fraught with so much suffering to the people.

5*thly*, *Political Institutions*.—The American Declaration of Independence announces that "all men are created equal," a proposition which, however liable to be disputed in some respects, has (leaving out of view the African race) been practically adopted as the fundamental principle of all the institutions and legislation of the United States. It is the most powerful maxim for developing the *individual*, in all his faculties and functions, that has ever been promulgated, and it has certainly produced great results. It is probably the first abstract proposition that is clothed with an intelligible meaning in the mind of the American child, and it influences his conduct through life. It sends forth the young citizen full of confidence in himself, untrammelled by authority, unawed by recognised superiority in others, and assured of a fair field for every exertion. When he attains to the age of twenty-one years, the institutions of his country provide him with the following arenas of political influence and exertion.

Each town is to a certain extent and for certain purposes a body corporate. "The citizens of the several towns qualified to vote for elective officers annually assemble and hold town meetings; and, when so assembled, they have power, not only to

elect town-officers, but also to determine what number of assessors, constables, and pound-masters shall be chosen for the ensuing year; to direct the commencement or defence of suits and controversies in which the town is involved or interested, and a sum to be raised for conducting the same."* The extent of their powers may be judged of from the officers whom they elect, and who are all responsible to them. I select the State of New York as an example; the constitutions of towns and counties are similar in most of the other States.

The qualifications of a voter are, that he must be a citizen of 21 years of age; he must have resided in the State one year, and in the county where he offers to vote for six months before an election. He must vote in the town or ward where he resides. Persons of colour must have been citizens of the State for three years; and must have possessed for one year previous to the election a clear freehold estate of the value of $250. The town-officers annually chosen are,

1. *A Supervisor,* "who receives and pays over the principal monies raised by the town for defraying town charges."

2. "*A Town-Clerk,* who has the custody of all the books, records, and papers of the town."

3. "*Assessors,* whose chief powers and duties consist in the assessment and valuation of the real and personal property of the inhabitants of the town, for the purpose of taxation."

4. "*The Collector.* He receives a tax-list with a warrant annexed, from the board of superiors of the county, and he then proceeds to collect the taxes mentioned in the list."

5. "*Overseers of the Poor.*"

* Civil Offices and Political Ethics by E. P. Hurlbut: New York, 1840, p. 95.

6. "*Commissioners of High-Ways.*"

7. "*Commissioners of Common Schools.*" Of these there are three for each town. They have power to divide the town into a convenient number of school districts, and to regulate and alter them. They receive from the treasurer of the county, the monies apportioned for the use of the common schools of their town, and they also receive from the town-collector, all monies raised by the town, and by him collected, for the use of schools. These monies are apportioned by the commissioners among the several districts, in proportion to the number of children in each district, who are above 5 and under 16 years of age, as the same appears from the last annual reports of the trustees of the several districts. They have power to sue for and collect certain penalties, which are added to the school funds.

8. "*The Inspectors of Common Schools.*" They examine all persons offering themselves as candidates for the office of common school teachers of their town; also visit once a-year, or oftener if necessary, all the common schools of their town; examine into the state of them, the progress of the scholars in learning, and the good order of the schools; and give advice and directions to the trustees and teachers of the schools as to their government, and the course of studies to be pursued in them.

9. "*Trustees of School-Districts.*" Their duties are to call special meetings of the districts when necessary, and make out a taxlis. for the sums voted to be raised at a district meeting, annex to it a warrant of collection, and deliver it to the district collector. They build, hire, purchase, keep in repair, and furnish the school-houses, and employ and pay the teachers.

10. "*The Constables.*"

11. "*The Town Sealer.*" Who compares all weights and measures with the standard, and seals them.

12. "*Overseers of Highways.*"

13. "*Pound-Masters.*"

14. "*Fence Viewers.*"

15. "*Commissioners of Excise,*" who grant licenses to keepers of inns and taverns.

16. " *Auditors of the Town Accounts.*"

17. " *Commissioners of Deeds,* who take proof and acknowledgement of conveyances of real estate, the discharge of mortgages," &c.*

Some of these officers are not elected directly by the people, but appointed by persons chosen by them. Thus the Commissioners of Deeds are named by the Judges of the county courts and the boards of supervisors in each county; but directly or indirectly the people appoint them all.

" The next grand political division is the *County;* and the officers, most of whom are annually elected by the people, are the following:—Sheriff, Coroners, District-Attorney, Judges of the county courts (they are nominated by the Governor, with consent of the Senate, and hold office for five years), County Clerks, Surrogate, Superintendents of the Poor, County Treasurer, Board of Supervisors, Grand Jurors, County Sealer, Auctioneers, and Inspectors of Commodities.

" *The Legislature* consists of 32 Senators, and 128 Members of Assembly, with subordinate officers. The Senators are chosen by the people and by districts, and their term of office is four years. The Members of Assembly are chosen annually by the people.

" *The State.* The *Executive officers* are *a Governor,* chosen by the people at a general election, and who holds his office for two years. *Lieutenant-Governor,* appointed as before. *A Secretary of State,* appointed by the Legislature for three years. *A Comptroller,* appointed and holds office as the Secretary. *A Treasurer,* appointed annually by the Legislature. *An Attorney-General,* appointed for three years by the Legislature. *A Surveyer-General,* the same. *A State Printer,* appointed by and holds his office during the pleasure of the Legislature.

" *The Judicial* and *Administrative* officers of the State are appointed either by the Governor, with consent of the Senate, or by the Courts. The higher judges hold office during good behaviour, or till sixty years of age, when they are no longer capable of holding office. The Judges of County Courts and

* Lib. cit. p. 95 to p. 120.

other inferior judges hold office for five years, Masters and Examiners in Chancery for three years.

"Finally, *The United States.* The President of the United States is chosen by the electors of each State, appointed in such a manner as the legislature of each State directs by law, and these electors are equal in number to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State is entitled in Congress. He holds office for four years, but may be re-elected for a second term of four years.

"*The Vice-President,* is elected in the same manner, and for the same term.

"*The Legislative Body,* or Congress, consists of *a Senate* and *a House of Representatives.*

"*The Senate* is composed of two Senators from each State, who are chosen by the Legislatures of their respective State, and hold office for six years.

"*The House of Representatives* is composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States. At present they cannot exceed one for every 47,700 of inhabitants, but the ratio is changed with every census taken by the United States.

"The President, or President and Senate, nominate Executive and Judicial Officers, and also Naval and Military for the United States."

When we contemplate this fabric of government, it appears as a mighty school for developing the social nature of man; and it is a school which nature approves. The social body controls its own destiny, suffers for its own errors, and enjoys the benefits of its own wisdom and virtue. It gives power to every elector to raise or depress his own fortunes and those of his neighbours; but he must influence both; he cannot isolate himself from his fellows, and pursue, in his electoral capacity, private ends and individual advantages. He must "Love his

neighbour as himself;" for his neighbour is his equal, and will not submit to injustice. This form of government calls on individual citizens to discharge many public duties, and offers to their ambition numerous situations of public honour. It quickly brings home to society the experience of the consequences of its own actions:—if it commit errors, suffering speedily indicates the necessity for rectifying them; if it adopt wise laws and pursue salutary measures, it is rewarded with certain prosperity; but its influence in developing the *internal* faculties of the mind is the chief object of my present remarks.

On perusing the list of officers elected by the American citizen, and of whose proceedings he is the ultimate judge, we discover that there is scarcely an interest relating to human nature in this world, which is not directly or indirectly brought before him for consideration, and placed to some extent under his control. The institutions appear to me to develope the whole faculties of the individual, with little modification. He is educated by them in the belief that he can control every thing but public opinion, and that little self-denial is required from him, except in preserving a civil bearing in society. If, therefore, Nature have bestowed on an American citizen a large endowment of the animal organs with defective organs of reflection, and of the moral sentiments, he is speedily developed into an audacious and accomplished rogue. If to the propensities she have added intellect, but still left the moral faculties deficient, he

appears as a speculative merchant, an ambitious and unprincipled politician, or a dexterous and unconscientious lawyer,—in each character unscrupulously turning the institutions of his country, and the good nature of his fellow-citizens, to his private advantage. If Nature have given the citizen a high development of the moral and intellectual organs, with subordinate propensities, the institutions of his country unfold the best of human characters; such an individual is a philanthropist, a man of practical sense, of sterling honesty, and sturdy independence; in short, an ornament to human nature. I have known many such. The American citizen whose mental endowments are naturally high, and whose education has been liberal, is reared in a noble field. There is no glare of aristocracy to obscure his moral perceptions and misdirect his ambition. There is no established church to trammel his religious sentiments and obstruct his path in following the dictates of truth; there is no servile class to corrupt his selfish faculties by obsequiousness and flattery. He is an excellent specimen of humanity, enlightened, benevolent, and just, and animated by an all-pervading activity. There is another class of minds, by far the most common, on whom the three orders of faculties, animal, moral, and intellectual, are bestowed by nature in nearly equal proportions. The American institutions evolve their faculties almost in the proportion in which nature gave them. Men of this class are observed to be habitually selfish, yet occasionally generous; frequently cunning, yet often open and direct; at times

carried away by passion and prejudice, but on other occasions manifesting sound judgment and honesty.

In short, the grand feature of American society is the fulness with which it developes *all* the faculties of its individual members, without impressing peculiar biases on any of them; and hence its heterogeneous aspect in the eyes of foreigners. There is no evil and no good which may not be predicated of it with truth. Numerous examples could be adduced in support of every picture representing good, better, best; bad, worse, worst, in American society. Perhaps the reader may suppose that the same may be said of society in every country; but certainly not to the same striking extent as in the United States. In Europe the different classes are cast in distinct moulds, and some of the faculties of the individuals constituting each class are suppressed, while others are highly developed, to fit them for their conditions. In the United States the individual man stands forth much more as Nature made him, and as freedom and equality have reared him.

It is this extraordinary activity of all the faculties which forms the most striking feature in the people of the United States, and it affords the best guaranty that they are essentially in the right road to a high civilization.

The imperfections discovered by strangers lie not so much in the American institutions as in the people. The fierce political contests, the sudden elevations and depressions of public affairs, the frequent changes of laws and projects, and the want of smooth-

ness and harmony in the action of the social machinery which have been observed in that country, are the natural indications that the impulsive power which is moving, and also the intelligence which is directing this vast social body, are both operating to a great extent at random; now attaining, and now missing their objects, but ever driving onward towards new experiments and evolutions.

In the exercise of nearly all their high elective, legislative, and administrative functions, the people and their rulers generally proceed on the mere dictates of common sense; and as Archbishop Whatley has well observed, common sense is never recognised as a sufficient guide in the management of important affairs, except when the individual is ignorant of scientific principles of action. A sailor will probably admit that common sense is sufficient to enable a man to preach or to practise medicine, but he will deny that it is adequate to the steering of a ship: He knows little of the difficulties of preaching and practising the healing art, and therefore believes that slender attainments will suffice for them; while he is intimately acquainted with the perils of navigation, and justly decides that scientific knowledge and experience are both indispensably necessary to render a man an accomplished navigator. Instinct does not guide man as it does the lower animals; and reason cannot act without extensive knowledge and laborious training. The education of the American people being still essentially defective in relation to their powers and duties, their institutions, when

seen in action, do not render justice to the wisdom which framed them. A higher education, discipline in obeying the natural laws under the sanction of religion, and practical moral training, appear to me to be the remedies for these evils.

One test of civilization, both in individuals and nations, is the power of self-command amidst temptations; and a second is the capacity of discovering and following out through difficulties, the path that leads to ultimate good.—In regard to the first test, it is a common remark in Scotland, that the sons of excessively rigid clergymen occasionally run into wild immoralities when they are emancipated from paternal restraint. The explanation is, that their own moral and intellectual faculties have never been disciplined to resist and to control the solicitations of the propensities amidst temptations. The restraining and directing power has been *external;* and good conduct depended on its presence. No youth is ever safe or well-trained unless these powers be *internal;* for then only are they ever present and ever at their posts. The same rule holds good in the case of nations. Before the revolution, the French people were restrained from action by priests, police officers, and a numerous soldiery. French society then presented fewer mobs, fewer defiances of the law, and fewer gigantic frauds, in proportion to the population, than American society does at this moment. But were the French of those days in a higher state of civilization than the modern

Americans? No. Their propensities were restrained by *external* powers, and little scope for self-action was permitted to any of their faculties. The consequence was, that when the pressure of the priests, the police, and the army, was removed, and a strong impulse was communicated to their minds, the propensities blazed forth with frightful energy—there was a lack of self-control—all was distraction and anarchy; and Napoleon restored order only by *reapplying the external restraints.* The American people live under no *external* restraints, except those established by God and by themselves. Their regulating influences are situated in their own minds; and they live, not in a state of apathy, but in one of high excitement. They contend for gain, for honour, for power, and in all their contests, only the law of God, the power of conscience, the fear of public opinion, and the laws which they themselves have made and may abrogate at pleasure, repress their ebullitions, and give direction to their efforts. Do they exhibit the wreck of social order, and the degradation of virtue? No! The progress of civilization has been steady and rapid. In proportion as the new territories have been filled up by a numerous population, religion, law, and order, have been evolved in them. I was told by gentlemen in advanced life, that in their younger days Kentucky was the theatre of fierce duels, gouging, murders, and other gross outrages, as the new States of the West at present are; but in our day Kentucky is comparatively industrious, moral, and civilized. The latter fact I saw during my

visit to the West in April 1840. In the older and Eastern States the supremacy of the law, the security of property, and the respect for religion, are unquestionably great. In the previous pages, I have described exceptions, but they are only exceptions; and there is a constant disposition and never-ceasing effort to prevent the recurrence, and remove the causes of them.

When this state of social affairs is regarded as the result of the *free internal* action of the mind *of the whole people*, I recognise the presence of a *higher general civilization* in the United States than is to be found in any European country, except probably Switzerland, which has similar institutions. What European monarchy could throw such an extent of power into the hands of the whole people as is done in the United States, and afterwards boast of equal order, law, and justice? The oppressed, the injured, the ignorant, and untrained masses would, in all probability, during the first exercise of their power, rush headlong into anarchy. The prominence which outrages and frauds assume in American society is the consequence of the impulse given to all the faculties by their institutions, and of the comparative feebleness of *external* artificial restraints. As already mentioned, the rogue is developed in all his might and malignity, and his greatness attracts attention; but the good are developed in an equal proportion; and if they do not appear equally conspicuous on the public stage, it is because religion and virtue are in their own nature meek, retiring, and unostentatious

qualities. The first step towards self-government is the most difficult; the Americans have made, and partly succeeded in it. Their future progress will be less difficult.

Captain Marryat bears testimony to a fact which is at once the consequence and evidence of this power of self-control in the American people in one department of social life. It is so important that, in my opinion, although he had not recorded one other circumstance in elucidation of American civilization, he would have done good service to ethical and political science by contributing it alone. "I do not think," says he, "that *Democracy* is marked upon the features of the lower classes in the United States; there is no arrogant bearing in them, as might be supposed from the despotism of the majority; on the contrary, I should say that their lower ranks are much more civil than our own. In his usual demeanour the citizen-born is quiet and obliging. The insolence you meet with is chiefly from the emigrant classes. I have before observed that the Americans are a good-tempered people, and to this good temper I ascribe their civil bearing. But why are they good tempered? *It appears to me to be one of the few virtues springing from Democracy.* When the grades of society are distinct, as they are in the older institutions, when difference of rank is acknowledged and submitted to without murmur, it is evident that if people are obliged to control their tempers in presence of their superiors or equals, they can also yield to them with their inferiors; and

it is this yielding to our tempers which enables them to master us. But under institutions where all are equal, where no one admits the superiority of another, even if he really be so; where the man with the spade in his hand will beard the millionaire, and where you are compelled to submit to the caprice and insolence of a domestic, or lose his services, it is evident that every man must, from boyhood, have learned to control his temper, as no ebullition will be submitted to, or unfollowed by its consequences. I consider that it is this habitual control, forced upon the Americans by the nature of their institutions, which occasions them to be so good-tempered, when not in a state of excitement."

The facts and the philosophy here are equally sound, except that *American-born* "domestics" are trained under the same influences with the rest of the community, and, if paid at the common rate of labour and justly treated, they, as a class, are not insolent and capricious. Bad temper arises from unjust manifestations of Self-Esteem and Destructiveness, directed against individuals who have offended our egotism; while good temper is the result of Self-Esteem and Destructiveness kept in abeyance, and Benevolence, Veneration, Conscientiousness, and Love of Approbation, or some of them, actively manifested. If artificial differences of rank afford temptations to indulge in bad temper, they, to that extent, foster unchristian states of mind; while democratic institutions, if they cultivate self-restraint, good-nature, and civility, are unquestionably, in so far, the allies of virtue, and cherish Christian dispositions.

With regard to the second test, I cannot bear the same testimony in favour of the power of the American people to discover and follow forth, through difficulties, the path that leads to general prosperity. They greatly need a higher intellectual illumination to enable them to do so.

But it is said that the institutions of the United States have produced a frightful result in establishing the *tyranny of the majority*. This subject deserves serious consideration.

In all political, legislative, and corporate assemblies, the minority must, from the nature of things, yield to the majority. The mere fact of the majority in such bodies, carrying their own measures into effect, cannot justly be called *tyranny*. From the way in which the tyranny of the majority is generally spoken of, a stranger to the United States might be led to suppose that the majority enact laws in favour of themselves to the prejudice of the minority; but this is not the case. Except when legislating for the coloured race, the majority uniformly include themselves in the laws which they pass; and if they be guilty of injuring the minority, it is only in consequence of an error in judgment, which equally affects themselves. A few cases probably might be discovered, in which the majority in the legislature of a particular State, had a common interest which they pursued at the expense of the minority. In 1840, for example, the majority of the Legislature of New York may reasonably be suspected of having been composed of debtors. On the 14th of May in

that year, they passed an act, ostensibly to curtail attorneys' fees; but by § 24 they enacted that writs of *fieri facias* may be issued, and tested at any time in term or vacation, *after thirty days from the entry of judgment*, and such writs shall be returnable sixty days from the receipt thereof," &c. The plain meaning of this provision is, that, after the creditor has pursued his claim to judgment, he must wait thirty days before he can issue execution; in other words, that the debtor shall have thirty days to dispose of his personal property, and thus enjoy the privilege of defeating the claims of the creditor entirely. But, as the legislators are changed very frequently, all statutes which are found to favour one class at the expense of another, are likely to be speedily repealed. Again, such cases as are referred to on p. 199 of this volume occasionally occur, where the majority sacrifice the rights of the few, under the plea of promoting the general good; but unquestionably the *tendency* of the democratic legislatures of the United States is to embody justice in their laws. For example, the want of a registry of voters is an undoubted defect in the election-law of the State of New York; but if such a regulation were proposed by the one political party, the other would represent it as "an abridgment of popular rights," and make "political capital" out of it. In the *city* of New York, however, the Democratic party had the ascendancy in 1840, while the *Whig* party prevailed in the *Legislature* of the State. The Whigs availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the gross frauds prac-

tised at the New York *City* election in April 1839, and of their ascendancy in the Legislature, to pass a *registry-law* for that city. They could not have done so for the State, because the cry of "popular rights" would have been successfully raised against them. They could lose nothing, however, by such a clamour in the city, because it already belonged to their opponents. They, therefore, by establishing a registry for the city, did the good that was in their power; and other occasions may occur in which it will be possible to extend this law to other places. In Great Britain the two houses of Parliament represent only the *minority of the nation;* yet they appear to me to exhibit many more examples of *tyranny* in law-making over the unrepresented majority, than I have been able to discover perpetrated by the majority over the minority, in the Legislatures of the United States A list of unjust laws enacted by the majority in the United States in order to benefit themselves at the expense of the minority, (omitting those regarding the African race,) would be remarkably brief. A similar list of unjust enactments by the minority in Britain against the majority, would, on the contrary, be extensive.

But it may be supposed that the tyranny of the majority consists in elevating their own will into supremacy over the law; in trampling on it, for instance, in their character of mobs; in setting it at nought as jurymen; or in forcing the judges to pervert it, under fear of dismissal from office. That examples of such evils do occur, it is impos-

sible to deny; but they are the results of excitement, which is generally both temporary and local; and there is constantly a reaction in favour of law and order. These are merely ebullitions of unguided feeling, and do not assume the character of concerted or intentional tyranny of the majority over the minority. Indeed, my impression is, that they are generally perpetrated by the *minority*, without the approval of the majority; because, so far as my means of observation extended, I was led to the conviction that a vast majority of the citizens of the United States condemn these outrages, although they lack legal force and moral courage to prevent them. The newly settled, and therefore semi-barbarous, States of the west, and the slave States of the south, should be distinguished from the eastern and more civilized States, in discussing this question. The former may be compared to Ireland in 1824, when an army of 36,000 men was needed to preserve the peace, and the latter to Scotland now, where 1500 soldiers suffice. It would lead only to error to regard the British Isles as one nation, and to detail Irish outrages as examples of the lawlessness of the Scotch; and it is equally fallacious to cite the crimes and horrors of the south and west as examples of the influence of democracy in the United States. In judging of political institutions, we are bound to view them in those circumstances where they have been longest tried, and have had freest scope.

Assuming, then, for the present, the eastern States as the objects of our contemplation, I remark that

their mobs proceed, in my opinion, from two causes, —the constant excitement in which the people live, *which pervades all their faculties*, and the want of *training* and *discipline in youth*. Their outrages are the result of impulse, vivid and general, but momentary; and not of deliberate action on any principle. One feature, moreover, distinguishes an American from a European mob. The moral and intellectual faculties are in a higher state of cultivation in the former than in the latter, and for this reason, the people are more susceptible of moral or legal influence, even in their highest state of excitement. A European mob is like a wild beast, cruel but cowardly; the animal propensities rage with violence, and completely carry captive the moral powers. An American mob, on the other hand, if fairly opposed by men of courage in support of the law, has so much more of the higher elements of mind in its composition, that it may be arrested. In Philadelphia, a few years ago, Mr B. W. Richards, when mayor, mounted his horse—dashed into the midst of a mob, and seized some of the ringleaders, when the other guardians of the peace, finding that they were led by a man of spirit, acted boldly, and speedily restored order. This act was loudly and universally commended. Again, in 1840, Daniel Neall, an old man, with his wife, and some other members of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia, had gone to visit the members of their society in Delaware, and they were assailed by a mob under the pretence that they were abolitionists. At night, while seated round the

fireside of a friend two miles from Smyrna, in that State, Mr Neall "was seized by force, dragged from the arms of his affrighted and agonized wife, and compelled to walk to that town 'to answer for his disorganizing doctrines,' * * 'The mob hurried him off to the place of their destination, where they consummated their deed of shame by tarring and feathering him, and riding him on a rail. After having thus satisfied their fiendish malignity, they set him loose, and allowed him to join his friends. Friend Neall bore the indignity with his accustomed meekness, offering no resistance, evincing no fear, and manifesting a spirit which drew even from these fellows evidence that they were half ashamed of their conduct. When he was set at liberty, he turned to the mob, and, in his gentle manner, told them that if any of them should ever come to Philadelphia, and call at his house in Arch Street, he would treat them in a manner very different from what they had treated him.'"

This is the account which appeared in the newspapers, and the press poured out the warmest indignation against the perpetrators of this crime; but the most characteristic part of the occurrence was not published. Mr Neall was altogether innocent of the offence alleged against him, but he both professed and acted on the doctrine of non-resistance. As he walked along, he spoke calmly, and with great moral force and dignity, to his persecutors, and urged on them the unchristian nature of their conduct. They were shaken, and had they not been afraid of the ridicule of their associates, they would have liberated him. They merely besmeared about six inches square of the back of his coat with tar, stuck some feathers on it, lifted him off his feet on a rail, carried him a little way, and did him no farther injury! This statement I received

from a friend of Mr Neall, and its truth is unquestionable. While no one can abhor these disgraceful outrages more than I do, I am deeply impressed, from what I saw of the American people, with the conviction, that even a moderate exercise of moral and physical courage by the well-disposed members of society, would check their mobs in the bud; and that individuals who should thus discharge their duty to their country would not encounter one-half of the danger to their own persons from an American, that they would do in encountering a European mob. There seemed to me to be, in the eastern States, an increasing and deepening sense of the disgrace which these and similar occurrences bring upon the country, and a strong tendency in puolic opinion to arrest them.

The tyranny of the majority may be supposed to mean merely that in matters of opinion nobody dares to think, or at least to avow what he thinks, in opposition to the majority; and this is really the only tyranny that exists. It is not correctly named, as I shall subsequently shew; but, in point of fact, a very great extent of moral cowardice, or of fear to maintain the right, in opposition to public sentiment, even when it is unquestionably wrong, does prevail in the United States. Before attempting to give an explanation of this phenomenon, it may be instructive to state a few examples of its mode of operation. When the cry for war with England, mentioned in vol. ii. p. 117, broke forth, the popular excitement was so deep and universal, that, with extremely few

exceptions, the most enlightened patriots who condemned, did not dare to oppose it, but suffered it first to expend its force in the manner already described, and then only, ventured, cautiously, to offer to the public mind the suggestions of prudence and reason. Again,—in conversing with the friends of education on the imperfection of their schools in the department of *training*, and suggesting the advantages of inviting Mr Wilderspin to come to the eastern cities and shew them infant training in practice, —they acknowledged the defect, expressed themselves convinced of the benefit of a visit from Wilderspin,— and said that there would be no difficulty in raising by subscription, the sum of money requisite to try the experiment; but one and all added that public opinion would not sanction such a step, and that if they ventured on it, they would do more harm than good to the cause of education. Again, when a scheme was hatching in Massachusetts to overthrow the board of education, there were not a few influential persons in different parts of the State who, in private, acknowledged themselves to be the friends of the board, and who justly estimated its value, yet who had not sufficient moral courage publicly to declare their convictions, and to support it. I was informed of this fact by a gentleman deeply interested in education, resident in another State, who travelled through a large portion of Massachusetts at the time in question, and who made it an object to ascertain the state of opinion on the subject. Once more, when agitation for the abolition of slavery commenced

in the New England States, public opinion gave up the individuals who favoured it almost to martyrdom.

This tyranny of opinion proceeds still farther; it takes cognizance of private actions. When walking in the streets of a city with a clerical friend, he observed the cloak which I wore (a short light *demi-saison* garment, which I had brought from Edinburgh), and admired it, as suited to the American spring and early summer. "Why don't you get one?" said I. "Because," said he, "public opinion would not sanction it: I should be pointed at as the 'Dandy Parson!'" Some Americans of large fortune who have been much in England, and who have adopted the late hours and the style of English dinners, are condemned by public opinion as guilty of foreign predilections and aiming at aristocracy.

Public opinion in these, and in many similar instances, possesses so much force, that few individuals have courage to oppose it.

In contrast to these instances, I may remark that no man is afraid to avow himself to be a Whig or a Democrat, even in localities where his opinions may be those of the minority; nor to acknowledge himself to be a Calvinist, a Baptist, or a Roman Catholic; because these are powerful sects: In short, wherever the individual is *backed by an influential number of persons holding the same opinions with himself*, he is safe. It is only where one or a few individuals venture to oppose a decided public sentiment that they are in danger. Hence, in cities where there are few Unitarians, an individual is afraid to

acknowledge himself to belong to that sect. It is an error, therefore, to speak of the tyranny of the *majority* over the minority of the nation in matters of opinion; the tyranny is rather that of the public over the individual. To a private citizen the public is merely those who move in his own circle, and who may influence his prosperity or his social estimation.

The question next presents itself—What is the nature of the danger which threatens individuals who venture to avow opinions generally disapproved of? In the case of the politician it is exclusion from office: To become unpopular ruins all a man's prospects of rising to distinction in the State; and to every American citizen the career of office, from that of constable to that of President of the United States, is open. The constable is as deeply interested about his popularity, as the senator who sees the presidentship within his grasp. I have read advertisements addressed by constables to the electors, soliciting their votes and explaining their own principles and conduct, as anxiously as if they had been competing for the office of governor. If the reader will cast his eye over the list of public officers whom the people elect (pages 261–2–3–4), and bear in mind the frequency of the elections, he will perceive a reason why a large portion of the most active and aspiring men of every town and county in the Union, should live habitually under the influence of the desire for popularity. They court popular favour as the ladder by which they expect to mount to honour and consideration.

To gain popularity, the public mind must be addressed on its most accessible side. I have already described the great majority of American voters as young, ardent, impulsive, active, and practical, but deficient in profound and comprehensive views, and also in the capacity of pursuing a distant good through temporary obstacles and difficulties. I have stated, also, that their education, in relation to their powers and duties, is very defective. To gain the favour of a people in this condition of mind, actual fitness for office, with honesty and independence in the discharge of public duty, do not of themselves suffice. The candidate must render himself acceptable to the electors individually; he must address their predominant feelings, enter into their leading aversions and predilections, and attach himself warmly to the party or cause which he knows them to regard with the highest favour. He may vouch for his own fitness for office, and his own certificate will often be received, provided, in other respects, his conduct and principles are approved of. If he egregiously fail in the discharge of his public duties, he will be turned out of office at the end of the term for which he was appointed; but the most conscientious and skilful execution of his duties will not, in general, secure the endurance of his tenure, if he publicly advocate unpopular opinions, although altogether unconnected with his station, or if he belong to a party which has lost public favour and been displaced from power.

The best remedy that can be proposed for the evils now described, appears to me to consist in a higher

education and a better training of the electors: If they were thoroughly instructed in youth, concerning the laws which regulate the prosperity of nations; in the qualities of the human mind, and in the indispensable necessity of judgment and integrity in public officers to the right management of their affairs, —higher qualities would be required in their public men in order to gain their favour, and useful and faithful public servants would be retained in possession of their offices, out of respect to their fitness alone. The idea that it is possible to educate and train a people to act in this manner is regarded by many persons as altogether visionary and Utopian; but to deny this is to maintain that man is not a rational being. A certain advance in the knowledge of his own faculties and of the external world, and of their adaptations to each other, was necessary before the development of his rational nature could fairly commence, and this knowledge has not yet been generally communicated to the young, nor have they been trained in accordance with it, in the United States. That, in their actual condition, their actions and judgments should partake of the character of impulse and direct perception, is inevitable; but their capacity to advance to a higher state of civilization is not by this circumstance necessarily excluded.

The danger which besets an individual *in his private capacity* in consequence of openly advocating unpopular opinions, may be best elucidated by referring to the instances already adduced. If any citizen propose improvements in education for which the public

mind is not prepared, those individuals whose interests or whose pride would suffer, or whose habits of thinking and acting would be invaded by the change, naturally oppose them. The common schools are placed under the management of directors and inspectors chosen by the people, and the reformers must obtain these offices before they can give effect to their benevolent designs. But the people, being ignorant of the nature and utility of the proposed changes, are easily operated upon by the insinuations, misrepresentations, and declamations of the hostile parties, who are scattered every where among them, and who by these means experience little difficulty in rendering the reformers unpopular, and thus preventing their election. The gentlemen who told me that the proposal to invite Wilderspin to the United States, would retard, instead of forwarding, the desired improvements in training, were sound in their judgment; because the prejudices of the people against foreigners, and their dislikes to innovation in their school systems, would, while they were ignorant of the nature of the proposed improvement, have ensured the exclusion of its projectors from office, and placed its opponents in power over the schools. The remedy for this evil is gradually to open up the subject to the public mind in lectures and through the press: or to carry the scheme into execution in some private seminary, and then shew it to the people in action. After they comprehend its advantages, they will adopt it. And accordingly, the project of improvement by training is not abandoned by those who

perceive its value; but they are proceeding prudently to prepare the people to receive and sanction it. So far from this condition of things being an unmitigated evil, it is attended with many benefits. It leads moral reformers to consider their measures thoroughly, and by anticipating opposition, to detect the weak points of their schemes. It also imposes on them the necessity of addressing the reason and moral sentiments of the people, and of *thus aiding in cultivating their rational nature;* and, in my opinion, the ultimate test of the merits of all institutions, is the degree in which they promote the accomplishment of this end.

The dangers which individuals incur from braving public opinion in their personal habits or pursuits bear a relation to two circumstances—the extent of their own dependence on that opinion,—and if they be independent of it, on the degree of their own sensitiveness to disapprobation. In the case of clergymen, physicians, and lawyers, the dependence of the individual on public opinion is direct and striking, and in most mercantile pursuits, also, opinion may, to a considerable extent, influence individual prosperity. Besides, the example of bowing to it, set by the aspirants after public offices, who are generally the boldest, most active, and influential members of the community, generates and cultivates the habit of doing so in those who move in a private sphere; and the habit being once established, sensitiveness increases in proportion to its universal prevalence and duration, until at last, in

many instances, it degenerates into a dread of public disapprobation, so powerful, that it paralyzes virtue, and deserves no milder epithet than that of moral cowardice.

This extreme sensitiveness is a peculiar characteristic of the Americans: But as I have already described the minds of the people to be developed by their institutions in all their faculties, each man according to his own nature, and as each may be discerned pursuing his individual objects with a predominating egotism, there appears to be a contradiction between these two portraitures of society. The representations wear the air of paradox; and, in point of fact, nothing struck me so forcibly in the United States as the inconsistency between one aspect of the character of the people and another. Phrenologically, I explain these anomalous appearances by the impulsive activity of *all* the faculties, undirected by any great land-marks either of established custom, sentiment, or reason. The faculties themselves are heterogeneous in their objects and feelings, and if they be manifested freely, one in one set of circumstances, and another in another, without a presiding guide, inconsistency will be evolved by Nature herself. Within the limits permitted by public opinion, an American will pursue his pleasure and his interest, as if no other being existed in the world; his egotism may then appear complete; but when he meets an opposing public opinion, he shrinks and is arrested. The state of manners allows a pretty wide latitude of self-indulgence, and foreigners

reporting on this phasis of character describe the people as personifications of egotism; but when the limit of public opinion is reached, this egotist may be seen quailing before it, although virtue, honour, and religion, should call on him to brave it. Again, he will not pursue his self-indulgence so far as to give personal offence to his neighbour, because this would be resented. In short, he has that vivid regard to opinion, that he restrains himself whenever he incurs the risk of its condemnation; and if he act improperly, it is because opinion tolerates the wrong.

British authors, however, have in general erroneously estimated the comparative influence of public opinion in their own country and in the United States. It appears to me to be pretty nearly as active and influential in Britain as it is in America, certain differences in its modes of operation being taken into consideration. In Britain (see p. 100) society is divided into a number of distinct classes, each of which has standards of opinion of its own. There is a public opinion peculiar to each class, and that opinion has acquired definite forms by the influence of ancient institutions. The opinions and modes of feeling of the individuals in each class, grow with their growth and strengthen with their strength, and in the maturity of life these conventional impressions appear to be absolutely natural. The differences between the grades of society produce corresponding differences in opinion and modes of action; and when an observer surveys individuals of each class acting according to their own perceptions of pro-

priety, he may imagine that, because they differ, each is manifesting a fine moral independence, in following the dictates of his own judgment. But this is an error. In America all men are regarded as equal; there is no distinct separation into classes, with a set of established opinions and feelings peculiar to each. As society is young, and the institutions are recent, there are no great influences in operation to mould opinion into definite forms, even within this one circle, which nominally includes all American citizens. The proper contrast, therefore, is between the power of public opinion in an English grade and in the American single circle; and if so viewed, the difference will not be found to be so greatly against the Americans as is generally supposed.

The English candidates for public offices do not bow to popular opinions, because the people have no offices to bestow; but if we select the fashionable circle in London, and consider how many of the individuals who move in it could be induced by the dictates of reason, or even by motives of moral or religious duty, to brave its opinions, and to pursue a line of conduct, however virtuous, that was stigmatised by the whole circle as vulgar or unfashionable, we should find the number very small. The same lack of moral courage which is considered so peculiar to the Americans, would be found almost universally prevalent in it. If we proceed to another grade, the same fear of incurring disapprobation will be found to pervade its members; and so down to the lowest, where public opinion ceases to act. In regard to private

conduct the same result presents itself. In Edinburgh, a certain style of entertainment is in use in a certain rank; and although many condemn the pomp, circumstance, and heavy vanity of the style, not one individual out of fifty will venture to depart from the established usage. In Scotland, instead of the tyranny of the majority, we live under "the fear of the folk;" and the most inattentive observer must have remarked that it is a most potential fear: It sends thousands to church who privately confess that they derive little edification from the exercises: it withholds thousands from countenancing their inferiors in society lest they should be regarded as ungenteel; and it impels countless multitudes to give an ostensible adherence to opinions and observances of which they, in their consciences, disapprove. Recently a religious party in Scotland, animated with an extraordinary zeal for the observance of the Sabbath, has denounced as sinful, and suppressed, interments of the dead on that day. This prohibition does not affect the rich, among whom it is not the custom to bury on Sundays; but it is a cruel tyranny over the poor, who, by interring on that day, more speedily remove a corpse from their small houses, who find their friends and relatives prepared to accompany the funeral without the loss of a day's wages, and who themselves are saved the loss of a day's labour at the time when disease and death are pressing most severely on their means. Besides, a service more solemn and more congenial with a religious frame of mind than a funeral, can scarcely be imagined.

Nevertheless few defenders of the poor man's rights have appeared among the upper ranks of society; and it is my firm conviction that the fear of being charged with countenancing Sabbath-breaking and infidelity, has been the chief cause of the silence of thousands who in their consciences do not approve of the prohibition.

The view here presented of the mode in which opinion operates in Britain may be illustrated by an example, in which the opinion, not of a circle only, but of the whole of society, was invaded. When the discovery by Dr Gall of the functions of the brain, and of a system of mental philosophy emanating from it, was first presented to the British public, it contradicted the opinions of physicians, lawyers, divines, men of letters, and philosophers generally, as well as those of the people, respecting the subjects to which it related. How was it received? Did the reviewers, the men of science, the physicians, and the doctors in divinity, investigate it, and brave public opinion by proclaiming its merits? No! It was intuitively felt that the discovery, if true, would convict numerous persons of ignorance in matters of importance, in which they had hitherto been believed by the public to be learned, and that this mortification, above all things, was to be avoided. By a nearly unanimous consent, therefore, the press and public delivered over Dr Gall, Dr Spurzheim, and their few followers, to the most unmeasured ridicule and abuse; while hundreds who saw that the public was wrong, shrunk with terror from even whispering such an im-

pression; and at the present day, when a quarter of a century of investigation and debate has considerably diminished the discredit of avowing a leaning to Phrenology, I could present a pretty considerable list of physicians of reputation, of divines of talent and consideration, and of accomplished private gentlemen, who entertain an unhesitating conviction of its truth and importance, and who nevertheless are afraid publicly to acknowledge this conviction, or to act on it. I have often been counselled to lay aside Phrenology, and employ myself in investigations approved of by public sentiment, and been told that the career of honour would then be opened to me; while I have been warned of the unpopularity and other evil consequences that would attend an opposite course of action. It did not fall to my lot to witness in America any greater prostitutions of conscience and judgment at the shrine of public opinion than I daily witness in my own country; and if in America the necessity for such sacrifices be greater than it is in Britain, the only cause of the difference is, that in Britain we are able to address a larger class of educated and reflecting men, who will bestow a second consideration on matters of social importance, and whose opinions will ultimately sway those of the people. In the American States, individuals of the educated class do not feel conscious of their own power, not so much on account of their being few in number, as because they are little united among themselves, and address a mass of their fellow citizens who wield power without possessing commensurate

intelligence, and on whom, therefore, it is difficult to make an impression by means of reason.

The inconsistency of the phenomena presented by American society, strikes a stranger still more forcibly when he observes, not only the impunity, but the success, with which public opinion is occasionally braved by certain individuals. There are men to whom nature has given a predominant development of Self-Esteem and Firmness, with deficient Love of Approbation, who, so far from courting the approval of society, erect themselves into standards to which they expect the world to conform, and who never hesitate to set public opinion at defiance when it suits their interest or ambition to do so. No individuals prosper more than these in the United States. Quackery and bold pretension in every form meet with extraordinary encouragement and success. There is in that, as in other countries, not only a large share of credulity, the offspring of ignorance, ready to swallow every bait presented by ingenious impudence, but there is a sort of admiration of the courage of that man who can boldly walk in his own path, regardless of the scorn, and taunts, and opposition of society; his very impudence confers on him a species of importance; and if he only avoid gross personal immoralities, he may make his way to fortune or distinction with surprising success. There is another class of men, to whom nature has given predominant organs of Conscientiousness and Firmness, who also occasionally brave public opinion in obedience to the dictates of duty. Of these Dr Chan-

ning is an illustrious example. They do not, however, proclaim disagreeable truths to their countrymen without suffering pain in their feelings, and a temporary abatement of their personal consideration; but the quality of moral courage in this form is so rare, and its value so highly appreciated, that they draw towards themselves a profound sympathy and warm admiration from the virtuous and enlightened, and they actually produce a powerful effect. In short, the Americans are themselves ashamed of their own lack of moral intrepidity, and they highly honour the quality when it is displayed by one of their number in virtue's cause. How are these apparent contradictions to be reconciled?

Before answering this question, we may first consider the origin of the influence of public opinion on the minds of individuals. Man is a being obviously destined by nature to live in the social state. The same fundamental faculties are common to all, but they are conferred on different individuals in different degrees of strength. While, therefore, there is an identity of nature, there are striking individual differences in mind, which give rise to diversities of feeling, talents, and dispositions. These differences may be regarded as, to some extent, the repulsive elements of society; but nature has bestowed on us also a very powerful faculty of Love of Approbation (its organs are among the largest in the brain), which inspires us with the desire of the approval of our fellow-men. This faculty presents us with motives to smooth down our peculiarities, to forego our indivi-

dual indulgences, and to conform as far as possible to the opinions, manners, and habits of our neighbours, in order to obtain their approbation; in short, it Macadamizes the highway of social intercourse, and renders it agreeable and smooth. But this faculty needs the illumination of knowledge and the guidance of moral and religious principle to prevent it from degenerating into an universal complaisance, equally ready to acquiesce in the pretensions of vice as to approve of the excellence of virtue. When the quality is deficient in a people, the intercourse of society is harsh and disagreeable; but, when it is too powerful and ill-regulated, it may expend itself in an universal approval of the opinions of the day, and induce them to shrink from condemning any generally received object or opinion, lest they should give offence, or incur disapprobation. It then undermines truth, by sapping the foundations of moral courage.

When this faculty acts along with the love of wealth or of power its selfish influence is augmented, because the approbation of society conduces directly to the gratification of these desires. In the United States, these objects are eagerly pursued by a large majority of the people, and thus the vast influence of public opinion among them is accounted for. But Love of Approbation, when combined in action with the sentiments of Benevolence, Conscientiousness, Veneration, and enlightened intellect, takes a loftier aim; it then desires distinction on account of intellectual attainments, holiness, charity, and

truth, and it desires only the approval of men of virtuous lives and cultivated understandings.

Far, therefore, from regarding the great power of public opinion in the United States as in itself an evil, I view it as a gigantic controlling influence which may become the most efficient ally of virtue. It is delightful to see the human mind, when emancipated from artificial fetters, evolving from its own deep fountains a mighty restraining power, far superior in force and efficacy for the accomplishment of good, to all the devices invented by the self-constituted guides of mankind. At present, this power is operating in the United States essentially as a blind impulse; many of the artificial standards erected in Europe by monarchy, aristocracy, feudalism, established churches, and other ancient institutions for its direction, have been broken down, and no other standards have yet been erected in their place. No manners or maxims have yet received the stamp of general acceptation, to enable opinion to settle on them with security.

That this is the true theory of the phenomena of public opinion, is rendered probable by the fact that its mighty influence is of recent growth. For many years after the Revolution, it was not felt to the same extent as at present,—opinion continued to be modified by the monarchical feelings in which the people had been educated, long after they became their own rulers. "It is only within these five and twenty years that the people have discovered and chosen to wield their own sovereign

authority; and as if for the very purpose of controlling them, public opinion has within the same period developed its stupendous powers. The ground is gradually becoming cleared of the antiquated posts and rails that directed public sentiment into particular paths; and the question occurs, what is destined to supply their place? Christianity will readily occur, as the most desirable guide; but at present, and for some generations, its influence will be limited by the conflicts existing between the different sects. Besides, the pulpit still devotes too little of its attention to secular affairs, and there are yet too few instances of combination among Christians of all denominations to accomplish general practical good, irrespective of their several doctrinal views. May not some aid be obtained from the maxims of moral and political science, founded on a sound interpretation of the nature of man and of the external world, and of their reciprocal relationship? If the mere forms of monarchy, aristocracy, feudalism, and religious establishments, often at variance with reason and the best interests of mankind, have become fetters with which opinion has been bound as in adamantine chains, why may not the dictates of God's wisdom, when developed to the understanding and impressed upon the moral sentiments from infancy, produce as powerful and a much more salutary effect? The United States must look to instruction in moral and political science, aided and sanctioned by religion, for the re-erection of standards and guides of opinion; and to the accomplishment of

this object the new philosophy will constitute a valuable assistant.

One distinct cause of the fear of individuals to oppose public opinion, when wrong, is the want of reliance on the moral tendency of the public mind, and on its inclination to correct its own errors, and to do justice to those who have braved its disapprobation in defence of truth. The vivid excitement under which opinion is formed, is one element in producing this terror; but another unquestionably is the uncertainty which is felt regarding both the principles and motives by which, at any moment, it may be swayed. The public intellect is practical and direct, and it neither investigates principles nor embraces distant or comprehensive views; while the public feeling is composed of a confused jumble of selfish and moral impulses, the course of which, on any particular emergency, often defies calculation. Nevertheless the race is ever onward; there is little looking back, little calm reflection, little retracing of steps once taken, unless some unsurmountable obstacle presents itself, which, from its magnitude and immovability, deflects the public mind, or makes it recoil upon itself. It appears to me also that the organs of Benevolence and Veneration are larger and more powerful than those of Conscientiousness in the Anglo-Saxon race in general; and that in consequence, both the Americans and British are more distinguished for benevolent and religious feelings than for an acute sense of justice. This defect renders it more arduous for individuals, either in

Britain or America, to take their stand on high moral principle in opposition to public opinion, because the faculty which prompts to the rectification of error, and the redressing of injustice, is comparatively feeble in the common mind. But this imperfection may be removed by a more assiduous cultivation of the faculty of Conscientiousness in the young. If the common schools embued the youthful mind with a clear knowledge of its own faculties, of the laws appointed by the Creator for their guidance, and also of the natural laws which regulate the progress of society, this information might come in place of monarchical and feudal institutions for the guidance of opinion, and might afford fixed starting points, from which the moralist and statesman, the divine and the philanthropist, could advance with safety, in their endeavours to check the people when bent on erroneous courses of action.

In short, if the gigantic regulating and controlling power of public opinion evolved by the free institutions of America, were enlightened and guided by the principles of Christianity and Science, instead of being left to act impulsively and as it were blindly, it would prove itself not a tyrant, but a protector to virtue, law, order, and justice, far more efficient than any that has hitherto been discovered. It would leave thought and action absolutely free, within the legitimate limits of all the faculties, (which none of the guides of opinion erected by human invention has ever done); while it would apply an irresistible check at the very point where alone a check would

be wanted,—that which separates the boundaries of good and evil.

I have made these remarks unhesitatingly, because I believe them to embody some truth; but I admit that it may be long before the American people will appreciate them, and longer still before they will attempt to carry them into effect; but with a nation, as with the God of nations, a thousand years is as one day, and if the views be sound, they will not lose their character or importance by delay.

Whatever estimate may be formed of the adaptation of the new philosophy to the wants of the American people as a guide to opinion, there can be little doubt that some general moral influence which should command respect and pervade the Union, would be highly useful. The division of the country into States, and these into counties and townships, each of which becomes an absorbing focus of interest to its own inhabitants, retards the diffusion of much valuable knowledge, and to some extent paralyses moral effort. I met with highly intelligent persons in Connecticut, interested in education, who knew nearly nothing of the organization and action of the board of education in Massachusetts, although this State is divided from Connecticut only by a line. Not only so, but before I left the United States, the Common School Journal of Connecticut had ceased to be published, owing to the want of subscribers. It was a very ably conducted, useful, and cheap periodical, but it did not discuss politics, nor theological con-

troversy, nor news; it was full only of high moral and practical information relative to the improvement of education; and this object interested so few persons that it could not find subscribers sufficient to support its existence! In Pennsylvania still less is known by the public of what is doing in Massachusetts or the other States in mere moral pursuits; and so with other portions of the Union. Large numbers of religious papers are published in the States, but the circulation of nearly the whole of them is local.

In New York several weekly papers devoted to general literature have recently been instituted, gigantic in point of size, and intended, by their contents, and moderate price, to command a circulation throughout the Union; but their success also has been limited. The circulation of Chambers's Edinburgh Journal in Great Britain and Ireland, with a population of 24,000,000, is stated to be about 70,000 weekly, while the highest circulation of any one of these New York papers, I was assured, does not exceed, on an average, 15,000 weekly, among a population of 18,000,000. There is a great difference also in the matter contained in these publications. Chambers's Journal is reprinted in New York, but has only a small circulation. It is too didactic and too little exciting to possess general interest in America. The New York publications are composed of the plunder of European novels and magazines; of reports of sermons by popular preachers; of stories, horrors, and mysteries; of police reports, in which crime and misery are concocted into melo-dramas

now exciting sympathy, now laughter: with a large sprinkling of news and politics. As they obtain the largest and most general circulation of all the publications in the Union, they may be regarded as representing to some extent the *general* mind; and certainly they are not calculated to convey a high opinion of it. It would be a great advantage to the Union if a paper, composed partly on the principles of Addison's Spectator,—taking cognizance of manners and minor morals, and partly on those of Chambers's Journal,—combining didactic instruction with a reasonable amount of entertaining reading, could be established and widely circulated; a paper which should serve as the gazette of the philanthropist, of the moral and intellectual of all parts of the Union, which should inform each of what the other is doing in the great cause of human improvement, and diffuse useful intelligence into every town and county of every State.

Such a publication might, in time, serve to create a moral public opinion, and do vast service to the civilization of the Union. But it should be conducted by a person of much wisdom and discretion, and be cosmopolitan in its principles. The difficulty is great in finding such a person. The success of Chambers's Edinburgh Journal is owing partly to the sagacity, perseverance, and industry of both its editors; but it has also been materially promoted by the genius and peculiar bent of mind of one of its conductors, Mr Robert Chambers,—in whom a combination of mental qualities, rarely met with, occurs. Hence the

work has been marked from its commencement by an unity of design, variety of matter, popular interest, and scientific solidity, never before exhibited in any similar work,—added to which is a presiding morality and sound sense, that recommend it equally to the peer and to the peasant. I deem it necessary to make these remarks respecting the special qualities employed in conducting Chambers's Journal, because I do not consider that any association of men of talent, although backed by ample funds, could render such a periodical successful either in Britain or the United States, without at least one conductor peculiarly fitted for the task by his mental endowments, tastes, studies, and attainments; and any attempt to institute such a work which should end in failure and disappointment would retard instead of advancing the accomplishment of its objects. The local newspapers, in general, do not circulate moral intelligence. I frequently read in the Common School Journal of Massachusetts articles of great interest connected with the advancement of public instruction; but, except in a few instances, they were not copied by the press with a view to diffuse them through the State. It was not because the School Journal's circulation superseded the necessity of this, but because the editors of the newspapers were not sufficiently interested in education to perceive the value of the information to their readers.

CHAPTER VII.

Phrenology—Reversed Organs—Attack on the Board of Education in Massachusetts—The Manhattan Bank—Presentation of a Silver Vase—Visit to Ohio and Kentucky—Visit to General Harrison—Kentucky—Return to New York—Philadelphia and Boston—Debts of the American States—Number of Stockholders of the United States' Bank in the United States—Number of Stockholders in Europe and elsewhere, excepting the United States—American State Stocks held by American Banks—Banking in the State of New York—The Manhattan Bank—Amistad Negroes—The Spirit of British Legislation—Return to England.

1839.

Newhaven, March 20. *Phrenology.*—The subject of the following case was introduced to me by a medical friend. On 15th September 1833, Lemuel Camp, now aged 36, temperament bilious-sanguine, keeper of an oyster tavern in this city, was shooting, when the gun burst, and the iron which closes the end of the barrel was driven into his skull, and buried in his brain, in the region of Eventuality. He fell, but soon recovered sensation, and walked home, a mile and a half, assisted by two young men. He was conscious all the time; felt little pain, and sustained little loss of blood. Dr Knight travelled three miles to reach him, and then extracted the iron. He felt a terrible wrench when it was withdrawn, but no other severe consequences. The broken portions of the skull were extracted, part of the brain came away, the skin closed on the wound, and in five weeks

he was able to walk abroad. He gave me this information himself, in presence of a medical friend of his own, and added that his mind has never been affected; but his friend informed me that Camp's wife declares that, since the accident, he has been oblivious of things and occurrences. He will come into the house, lay down his whip, and in a minute forget where he has put it. After being exposed to severe cold, and after drinking, he is liable to be seized with involuntary muscular action, amounting to convulsions. In other respects, his health is good. He took a box out of his pocket and shewed the iron and the broken pieces of bone which he carried in it, and he quite seriously assured me, that for the first year after the accident, if any person rattled these in the box, or meddled with them, his wound would ache, although he were a mile distant from the box and bones, and had no previous suspicion of any such interference! After the first year, this acute sensibility ceased. I felt the edges of the wound in the skull, and found them irregular, and the injury seemed to be chiefly on the left side. There is, however, in the box a portion of the frontal bone to which the falx had been attached, and both Dr Knight and Dr Hooker afterwards mentioned, that they considered that both sides of the brain had been injured at the point in question. Dr Knight had no doubt that the longitudinal sinus was ruptured, and accounted for the small hæmorrhage by the wound being low in the forehead. Dr Hooker said, that the patient's intellectual faculties are not impaired. This was all the light I could obtain on the case. The in-

jury was confined almost entirely to the organs of Eventuality, and I could form no accurate estimate of the state of efficiency of this faculty, from the short interview which I had with the patient, who, besides, was not a reflecting man. I must therefore leave the reader to form his own opinion, whether the mind of the patient was *entire* or not.

The audience attending my lectures passed resolutions at the close of the course, which are printed in the Appendix No. VIII.

Professor Hooker mentioned to me, that my lectures had made few converts to Phrenology in Newhaven; in answer to which remark, I repeated the statement made in my introductory lecture, that the truth of Phrenology could be ascertained *only by observation*, and that the object of my lectures was, *not to prove its truth*, but simply to teach *what* was to be observed, and *how* to observe; and, therefore, that the more scientific any audience was, the fewer would be the believers through sheer credulity, an order of converts which I did not desire. Professor Silliman, on the other hand, in seconding the resolutions adopted by the class, mentioned that he had attended four courses of lectures on phrenology, and that he was satisfied that the great principles of the science were well founded; thus shewing that, in his case, conviction bore a relation to the extent of observation on the subject. His speech was subsequently published in the American Journal of Science and Arts for July 1840, and an extract from it is given in the Appendix No. VIII.

Reversed Organs.—Many objections to Phrenology are founded on the supposed want of symmetry between the two sides of the brain. The differences between the arrangement of the convolutions on the one side and the other are not greater than between the distribution of the veins in the right arm and the left. Nature occasionally makes considerable deviations from the common position of particular organs in the body; and, indeed, in some instances, entirely reverses their usual locality. This is well known to medical men, but for the sake of the non-medical reader, I present Dr Hooker's description of a preparation of a human subject which I examined in his anatomical museum.

"In the winter of 1838-9, a subject brought into the anatomical rooms of the Medical Institution of Yale College, was found to have a perfect lateral transposition of the viscera of the body. The heart was on the right side; the right lung had two, the left three lobes, the descending aorta lay on the right side of the spine, the vena cava on the left; the liver with the gall-bladder on the left, the spleen on the right side. The blood-vessels, nerves, and other parts, were examined with the utmost minuteness, and not the least exception was found to a perfect transposition of all the parts, everything appearing perfectly normal except in position. The subject was a man apparently fifty-five years old, and had undoubtedly been a hard-labouring man, as was indicated by the thickened cuticle of the hands, the large muscles, and other circumstances. He appeared to have died from acute disease of the lungs."

Professor Hooker shewed me a skull bearing an inscription—Richard J. Wethby, died Dec. 10. 1829, aged thirty-one, on which I remarked that the organs of Constructiveness must have been very large, because they had depressed the edges of the super-orbi-

tar plate on which they had rested, towards the ethmoidal fossæ, and also raised a considerable elevation externally at the usual place on each side; while the organs of Language must have been very small, because the super-orbitar plate was convex, instead of being concave, which is usually the case, where they had rested on it. Dr Hooker mentioned that the man whose skull this was had been a stone-cutter; he had died of consumption, and, during his illness, had given himself to be made into a skeleton after death. He was a very expert artificer in stone, and so deficient in language that in conversation he was not only slow, but used extraordinary words, through deficiency in commanding the usual vocabulary.

Attack on the Board of Education in Massachusetts.—The assault against this institution, which I have repeatedly alluded to, has at length been made in the Legislature of the State. On the 3d of March 1840, the Committee on Education was directed by the House of Representatives to consider the expediency of abolishing the Board of Education and the normal schools; and on the 7th of March, the majority of the committee presented a report, which merits serious attention. The reader will find the constitution and powers of this Board described in vol. i. p. 68; and he is reminded that Mr Dwight, a citizen of Boston, had made a gift of $10,000 to the State, on the condition that the Legislature should provide a similar sum, and apply both to the institution of normal schools, which was accordingly done.

The report possesses more than a local and temporary interest. It is indicative of the state of intelligence of a considerable portion of the citizens of Massachusetts, whose opinions it expresses; and besides, it embodies views which, in all probability, would be urged by one party or another against education under the sanction of government in other countries. I shall therefore briefly advert to it.

Two reports were presented, one by the majority, and another by the minority, of the committee. The majority object to the Board for the following among other reasons:—

"The Board has a tendency, and a strong tendency, to engross to itself the entire regulation of our common schools, and particularly to convert the Legislature into a mere instrument for carrying its plans into execution."

Remark.—The Board has *no power* except that of communicating information and recommending measures to the school committees, teachers, and other persons interested in education. Therefore, it can engross to itself the regulation of the schools, only by convincing the understanding of those who manage them of the wisdom of its proposals, and this is not a power of which any rational being can be justly jealous.

"If the Board has any actual power, it is a dangerous power, trenching directly upon the rights and duties of the Legislature; if it has no power, why continue its existence at an annual expense to the commonwealth?"

Answer.—By the wisdom of its suggestions and the character of its members, it may exercise a *moral power* which may prove highly beneficial, while it

does not, and cannot, trench on the rights and duties of the Legislature. Its members serve without salaries or fees, and the annual expense which it occasions does not exceed one-tenth part of a cent. per annum to each of the inhabitants of the common wealth!

"As a mere organ for the collection and diffusion of information on the subject of education, the Board seems to your committee to be, in several respects, very much inferior to those voluntary associations of teachers which preceded the existence of the Board, and which, perhaps, suggested the idea of it." * * * "The school committees of the several towns and districts are qualified to superintend the schools, and might best be trusted with that superintendence."

The slightest knowledge of the actual condition of the schools, school-houses, teachers, modes of teaching, and things taught, in the commonwealth, will suffice to convince any reasonable person that this is a most lame and untenable assertion. Before it was made, the Secretary to the Board of Education had publicly stated that, "In this commonwealth, there are about 3000 public schools, in all of which the rudiments of knowledge are taught. These schools, at the present time, are so many distinct independent communities; each being governed by its own habits, traditions, and local customs. There is no common superintending power over them; there is no bond of brotherhood or family between them. They are strangers and aliens to each other. The teachers are, as it were, imbedded each in his own school district; and they are yet to be excavated, and brought together, and to be established, each as a polished pillar of a holy temple. As the system is now administered, if any improvement in principles or modes of teaching is discovered by talent or accident in one school, instead of being published to the world, it dies with the discoverer. No means exist for multiplying new truths, or even for preserving old ones. A gentleman, filling one of the highest civil offices in

this commonwealth—a resident in one of the oldest counties, and in one of the largest towns in the State—a sincere friend of the cause of education—recently put into my hands a printed report drawn up by a clergyman of much repute, which described, as was supposed, an important improvement in relation to our common schools, and earnestly enjoined its general adoption; when it happened to be within my own knowledge that the supposed new discovery had been in successful operation for sixteen years, in a town but little more than sixteen miles distant!" This representation is indisputably correct, and in the face of it to deny the utility of the Board of Education, must have required no small obliquity either of understanding or of conscience.

There are countries which have outstripped Massachusetts in some branches of education, and in the art of teaching, and her teachers stand in need of nothing more than the active agency of an enlightened central board to collect and diffuse information on these subjects,—to urge them to adopt improvements,—to give advice to local committees,—and to submit to their consideration rules which would benefit the pupils. Such are the duties of the Board of Education; and its constitution is framed with express reference to the people themselves continuing to govern their schools. It can operate only by convincing the teachers and school committees that they may do something better than they have previously accomplished. It is not to be expected that voluntary associations of teachers, the members of which are scattered through the State, and engrossed with local objects, interests, and duties, should acquire, digest, and diffuse information with the same success as a public board; and besides, they would want that

moral weight to induce the acceptance of improvements, which gives the Board its chief value.

"The establishment of the Board of Education seems to be the commencement of a system of centralization, and of monopoly of power in a few hands, contrary, in every respect, to the true spirit of our democratical institutions, and which, unless speedily checked, may lead to unlooked for and dangerous results."

The Board of Education can wield only the power of moral suasion; they cannot coerce, they cannot bribe, they cannot exercise even a veto on any measure or appointment. Their influence, then, must bear a proportion to the extent of the reason which they present to the understandings of those whom they address, of the practical advantages which they shew as likely to result from their recommendations, and from no other source. The real proposition embodied in the foregoing objection is, that democracy, for its own security, must resist the dictates of reason, and reject the most obvious measures of utility, when propounded by its own servants, lest by accepting them these servants should acquire a moral influence over the minds of the people! But this is tantamount to a denial of the rational nature of man. A virtuous and enlightened mind cannot avoid admiring superior wisdom, and yielding to the suggestions of superior intelligence; and if the Board of Education display those qualities, why should its influence be dreaded? If it do not, it can exercise no control over the public mind, unless we assume that both its members and the people are irrational, and will voluntarily adopt injurious errors.

So far from such a board being dangerous, it is what above all things is wanted in every State in the Union. There is a want of a *moral power* which shall address itself to the higher faculties of the people, and assist in forming and giving consistency and permanence to opinion, and which, without conflicting with the political, religious, or money powers at present exclusively prevailing, may serve, through the influence of reason, to elevate, temper, and guide them all. Such a board, named by the Legislature in every State, and invested with a pretty extensive range of moral functions, seems of all imaginable institutions that which is most directly fitted to prove useful to a democracy which must rest on the intelligence and morality of the people, or perish. In its addresses to the people, it would confine itself to objects of moral import alone; but it would appeal to *principles*, expound consequences, recal the admonitions of experience, and, in short, supply to some extent the grand deficiencies which palpably exist in the public mind—the want of knowledge, of reflection, and of regard to distant but inevitable results.

"The right to mould the political, moral, and religious opinions of his children is a right exclusively and jealously reserved by our laws to every parent; and for the government to attempt, directly or indirectly, as to these matters, to stand in the parent's place, is an undertaking of very questionable policy."

The Board of Education operates on the children only through the medium of the parents; for the parents themselves either constitute or elect the school committees and school inspectors, who, again,

appoint, superintend, and dismiss the teachers. The Board, therefore, can neither order nor forbid any thing, except by convincing the electors, and those who obey them, of its utility.

The report next attacks "The School Library." "It is professed, indeed, that the matter selected for this library will be free both from sectarian and political objections. Unquestionably the Board will endeavour to render it so. Since, however, religion and politics in this free country are so intimately connected with every other subject, the accomplishment of that object is utterly impossible, nor would it be desirable, if possible."

This argument is founded on the assumption that there is no portion of religion which is not a matter of contention between the sects, and no scientific principles in politics and political economy which are not subjects of party disputation. With all deference to the authors of this report (see vol. iii. p. 139), there is a vast field of Christian, ethical, and political truth which is highly interesting and instructive to the young, and which, nevertheless, is happily without the pale of contest, and may appropriately form the groundwork of the treatises prepared for the common school libraries.

"Another project, imitated from France and Prussia, and set on foot under the superintendence of the Board of Education, is the establishment of normal schools. Your committee approach this subject with some delicacy, inasmuch as one-half the expense of the two normal schools already established has been sustained by private munificence." * * * "Academies and high schools cost the commonwealth nothing, and they are fully adequate, in the opinion of your committee, to furnish a competent supply of teachers." * * * "*Considering that our district schools are kept, on an average, for only three or four months in*

the year, it is obviously impossible, and perhaps it is not desirable, that the business of keeping these schools should become a distinct and separate profession, which the establishment of normal schools seems to anticipate."

This is a striking acknowledgment of the low state of education in the commonwealth; and if the committee had been composed of enlightened men, it would have perceived that this fact furnished the most forcible reason for establishing normal seminaries, and for increasing the length of the attendance at the common schools; but they, on the contrary, recommended the abolition of the Board of Education, the school library, and the normal schools, and proposed to refund the money "generously contributed" to the support of the latter by Mr Dwight!! They appended to their report the draft of an act to carry these recommendations into effect!

In my humble opinion, all that has been written by European travellers against the people of the United States, their manners and institutions, will not depreciate the character of their civilization in the judgment of reflecting men to one-half the extent that will be done by this document alone. It appears, indeed, to contradict much that I have already said in favour of the American people; and at the hazard of standing still farther condemned, I am under the necessity of reporting that it found 182 individuals in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, the most enlightened of the States, to vote for its adoption. In point of fact, however, I have endeavoured to convey the idea that there is a vast extent of ignorance in the Union, and even in

Massachusetts; and this report signally sustains the assertion. But there is also another side to the picture, which I am happy now to exhibit.

The minority of the committee, consisting of "Mr John A. Shaw and Mr Thomas A. Greene," gave in an admirable report in support of the Board of Education and the normal schools; some of the Boston newspapers warmly espoused their cause. Dr Channing published in one of these an eloquent and cogent defence of them, and in the House of Representatives a highly interesting debate ensued on the merits of the whole question, the result of which was, that 248 members voted *for the rejection of the first mentioned report*, making a majority in favour of the Board of sixty-six members. One of the most luminous and effective speeches in support of education was delivered by a member who is well known as an able phrenologist.

On 20th March we left New Haven at 8 A.M.; and arrived at New York by Long Island Sound at 2 P.M.

The Manhattan Bank.—This has long been regarded as one of the most substantial and well-managed banks in New York; but lately the stock has undergone a rapid and serious depression in consequence of the fact having been divulged, that the cashier and majority of the directors had lent out a great part of the capital on permanent loans to themselves and a few of their friends. Mr Robert White, the cashier, was removed from office, and in revenge he assaulted in Wall Street with a stick Mr Allan

Thompson, the director (seventy years of age), who had divulged his transactions, and injured him severely. Mr White is bound over in $5000 to stand trial for the outrage.

March 23. Ther. 37°. *Presentation of a Silver Vase.*—This evening a beautiful and richly ornamented silver vase was presented to me in Howard's Hotel by the ladies and gentlemen who had attended my two courses of lectures in New York. It was delivered by Mr E. P. Huzlbut, the author of the work on "Civil Office and Political Ethics," formerly alluded to, in their names, in presence of an assemblage of the subscribers, and prefaced by a speech, of the merits of which it is not suitable for me to speak, but which, with a description of the vase, is printed in the Appendix No. IX.

March 25. Ther. 27°. *Visit to Ohio and Kentucky.*—This day we left New York, accompanied by a much valued American friend, on a visit to Cincinnati and Kentucky, not with the view of lecturing, but to see something of the interior of the country before returning to Europe. We went to Philadelphia, and thence to Baltimore, by the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railway.*

* The second annual report of the directors of this Railway Company, dated 1st January 1840, states the expenditure in making the road (94 miles), and all other expenses, at $4.379.225.17

Deduct bills receivable, . . .	$4000	
Cash in hands of assistant treasurer,	19.205.28	
		23.205.28
		$4.356.019.89

The

April 2. Ther. 32°. We proceeded to Frederick, a distance of sixty miles, by a railway which runs for a great part of the way along the bank of a small river, the Patapsco, flowing in a beautifully wooded narrow valley. At Frederick we hired an exclusive extra to carry us by the National Road to Wheeling on the Ohio River, and travelled the distance, 221 miles, in four days, having stopped each night to sleep. We descended the Ohio in a steam-boat, and arrived at Cincinnati at 6 A. M. on the 8th of April. The thermometer then stood at 40°. The town disappointed me, not in consequence of its own defects, but of the exaggerated descriptions of it which I had read. It is a handsome city of 50,000 inhabitants, and a marvellous example of the rapid increase of the country in wealth and population. In 1795, Cincinnati contained 500; in 1800, 750; in 1810, 2320; in 1820, 10,000; in 1830, 29,000; and now, in 1840, it is estimated to contain 50,000 souls. Mrs Trollope's bazaar is converted into a lecture-room, and is an object of curiosity to strangers.

April 13. Ther. 32°. *Visit to General Harrison.*—

The receipts for the year 1839 were		$490.635.55
The disbursements were		296.131.58
Balance applicable to dividends,		$194.503.97
Dividend paid 1st August 1839, 4 per cent., $84.480.		
Do. 1st Feb. 1840, 3½ per cent.,	77.418.25	161.898.25
Surplus fund, ...		$32.605.72

The description of this railroad, and the expense of its different works and materials, may be interesting to some readers, and I present them in the Appendix No. X., extracted from the report.

General Harrison, the Whig candidate for the Presidency of the United States at the election in November 1840, lives at North Bend, on the Ohio, 16 miles below Cincinnati; and one of his friends having offered to introduce us to him, we sailed down the river, and waited on him. As he has since been elected President, a few particulars of his history may be interesting to the reader. General Harrison was born in Virginia on the 9th February 1773.* He was educated at Hampden Sydney College, and then repaired to Philadelphia to pursue the study of medicine under Dr Benjamin Rush. In 1791 he abandoned the profession of medicine, and obtained from General Washington a commission as ensign in the first regiment of the United States' Artillery. He served in the war with the Indians in the North-west Territory; and an old soldier, speaking of his appearance at this time, remarked, "I would as soon have thought of putting my wife in the service as this boy; but I have been out with him, and I find those smooth cheeks are on a wise head, and that slight frame is almost as tough as my own weather-beaten carcass." Peace was concluded with the Indians in 1795, and Captain Harrison was appointed to the command of Fort Washington (now Cincinnati), where he married the daughter of John Cleves Symmes, the founder of the Miami settlements. He subsequently retired to his farm near Cincinnati, and soon acquired that taste for agricul-

* Sketches of the Civil and Military Services of William Henry Harrison, by C. S. Todd and Benjamin Drake. Cincinnati, 1840.

ture which, through a long life, has prompted him, when not engaged in public service, to return to the plough, and where we found him at our visit.

On 13th July 1787 an "ordinance" was passed in Congress "for the Government of the Territory of the United States North-west of the River Ohio," Article VI. of which, proposed by Mr Dane of Massachusetts, as an amendment, and adopted, bears that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." This clause has done more to promote the prosperity of that region than language can express. Early in 1798, Mr Harrison was appointed secretary and *ex officio* Lieutenant-Governor of the Territory. In 1800 he was sent as a delegate to represent the Territory in Congress. "His first effort was to effect a change in the mode of selling the public lands, which had hitherto been offered in large tracts—a system well suited to the rich speculator, but adverse to the interest of the poor man, however industrious and enterprising." He partly succeeded in this object, and obtained an act which facilitated the purchase of land by poor but industrious settlers, and thereby contributed essentially to the prosperity of the Territory.

In 1800, he was appointed Governor of Indiana: In 1803, upon the admission of Ohio into the Union, the region of country which now forms the State of Michigan was added to the Indiana Territory; and during the subsequent year, Mr Harrison was

made *ex officio* Governor of Upper Louisiana. On the 7th November 1811, he fought the battle of Tippecanoe against the Indians, led by their celebrated chief Tecumthe, and gained a decided victory. The forces engaged amounted to about 900 on each side, and the loss was equal; about fifty men being killed belonging to each army, and double the number wounded. This is the exploit celebrated in innumerable electioneering songs, and which gave name to hundreds of political clubs.

In 1812, when the British and Indians threatened the North-west Territory, he was appointed Commander-in-chief, and maintained a gallant defence of "Camp, now Fort Meigs," against these assailants. On the 5th October 1813 he met the British General Proctor, commanding 800 or 900 men, and Tecumthe, with 1800 or 2000 Indians, on the bank of the River Thames, near the Moravian Towns, and completely defeated them. "General Harrison personally gave the directions for the charge to be made when the right battalion of the mounted men received the fire of the British: the horses in the front of the column recoiled from the fire; another was given by the enemy, and our column at length getting into motion, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute the contest in front was over. The British officers, seeing no prospect of reducing their disordered ranks to order, and seeing the advance of infantry, and our mounted men wheeling upon them, and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered." The result of this charge decided the fate of the day. The Indians also were defeated. The Americans lost about twenty killed, and from thirty to forty wounded;

the British had eighteen killed and twenty-six wounded, and the Indians left on the ground, and in the pursuit, between fifty and sixty killed. This battle also has been the fertile subject of many electioneering songs.

In 1816 General Harrison was elected to Congress by the District in Ohio in which he resided, and some charges having been preferred against him by an army contractor, his conduct was investigated by a committee of Congress, which unanimously reported his conduct to stand above suspicion. Congress subsequently awarded to him a gold medal and the thanks of that body. "He exhibited in Congress an intimate familiarity with the civil and military affairs of the country, and the possession of a vigorous and cultivated mind. As a debater, he was ready, fluent, and forcible, always courteous and dignified, eminently happy in illustrating his arguments by the history of other nations, both ancient and modern, with the philosophy of which his mind is deeply and accurately imbued."

In 1824, he was elected to the Senate of the United States by the Legislature of Ohio, and in 1828 appointed, by President Adams, Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Columbia. "While in Columbia, the proposition was entertained by one of the political parties, of putting aside the constitution, and raising Bolivar to the Dictatorship. During the agitation of this question, General Harrison, as the personal friend of Bolivar, and not in his official capacity, addressed to him a letter on the subject of this change of government. This document, which has been extensively circulated and greatly admired in the United States, is written with great force and eloquence of diction, and breathes the pure spirit of republican liberty." After General Har-

rison's return from Columbia, he retired to his farm at North Bend, and resumed the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. In 1837 he was put in nomination for the Presidency, but was then unsuccessful.

"While Governor of Indiana, and Superintendent of Indian affairs, during a period of twelve years, he disbursed, at his discretion, and with but few, if any checks, very large sums of money; and, in the course of the late war, he drew on the Treasury for more than 600,000 dollars for military purposes. Yet General Harrison retired from public service poorer than he entered it, and has never been a defaulter to his government."

These representations of General Harrison's services, character, and attainments, although drawn from a work edited by his friends, contain, so far as I could learn, essentially the truth. Indeed his writings, which are pretty copiously quoted, prove that his intellectual attainments are highly creditable, while few American public men, since Washington, can boast of greater uprightness, disinterestedness, and devotion to the best interests of his country. When Governor of the North-west Territory he wielded nearly the powers of a Dictator, and his administration was marked by singular equity, moderation, and judgment.

General Harrison's residence at North Bend consists of a centre house of two storeys, now covered with clap-boards, but which the General told us is really built of logs, and two clap-boarded wings of one storey each. It stands about a quarter of a mile from the Ohio, in a grass park, having a few cherry trees in the distance, and several laburnums close to the door. The park may contain forty to fifty acres,

enclosed with a rail-fence. A foot-path, worn in the grass, but not formed by art, leads from the gate to the door of the house. The floor of the house is about fifteen or eighteen inches above the grass, and three stones of increasing thickness, undressed, not built on each other, but each lying on the ground, at successive distances, serve as steps to surmount this height. The centre house has much the appearance of a log-cabin. The principal room in it is coarsely finished, and the wooden fire blazes on the hearth. One of the wings, however, is finished like a modern house, and comfortably furnished as a drawing-room. Between the park and the river a canal is forming, to connect Cincinnati with the interior of the State.

General Harrison was suffering from a violent headach when we arrived, but Mrs Harrison gave us a kind welcome, and the General at length appeared. He is now sixty-seven, rather above the middle stature, slender, and he stoops considerably. His temperament is nervous and bilious; his head is long, of full average height, but not remarkably broad. The anterior lobe is above an average both in length from front to back and height; and both the observing and reflecting organs are well developed. The head is obviously flat in the region of Acquisitiveness. The moral region seemed to present an average development. His eye is vivacious, and his countenance is highly expressive of thought; indeed his whole appearance is much more that of a literary or scientific man than that of a military commander. His habitation presented unequivocal indications of humble fortune: indeed I may say (and

I say it without the least feeling of disrespect) of poverty; yet his manner and appearance were those of a man of the world, who was familiar with the best society, and who, in the retirement of his farm at North Bend, retained the polish and appearance of a gentleman.

In making these remarks I may appear to be trespassing beyond the limits of legitimate publication, and trenching on the privacies of domestic life; but at the time of my visit, and for many subsequent months, all the circumstances of General Harrison's conduct and condition, private as well as public, were described and discussed in almost every periodical of the Union; and I state little here which is not as public in the United States as the noon-day sun.

Immediately after dinner we retired and walked with him over part of his farm. It is his own property, and we were told extends to about 1500 acres, part of his wife's dowry. From the rising ground behind his house the view is highly beautiful, embracing two bends of the Ohio and its picturesque banks. At first it was intended to plant on this spot the great city of the west; but it is said that the commanding-officer of the district entertained an affection for the wife of a sergeant who was then stationed at Cincinnati, and that this induced him to remove his troops there, from which circumstance that town sprung into being.* Behind the General's

* The original name of Cincinnati was Losantiville, compounded in the following manner by Captain Robert Filson, a teacher apparently of great classical attainments. A small stream flowing from Kentucky enters the Ohio opposite to Cincinnati, and is named the

house is a large garden, in which we saw a white-headed eagle, with only one leg. It was presented to him by a convention of his political friends; and the gentleman who delivered it, in name of the rest, observed, in his speech, that as an eagle was seen hovering over Fort Meigs when the General fought the battle in its defence, this may possibly be the identical bird! The General remarked to us that eagles were then so numerous in that country that they might be seen hovering over many places. The captors of the eagle had dislocated its leg, and Dr Thornton, the General's son-in-law, believing it to be broken, had amputated it. The friend who introduced us to the General said, "General Harrison has promised to keep the eagle till the 4th of March next, when we hope he will go to the White House" (the familiar name of the President's official residence in the city of Washington). "Ah!" said the General promptly, and in the most natural tone, "there is one other condition about that. If Mr Van Buren abandons his mischievous policy, he may stay in the White House, and I shall remain in mine." He mentioned that in agreeing to be put in nomination for the Presidency, he had distinctly announced his resolution to retire at the end of the first term of four years.

Licking.—L, therefore, stands for Licking; *os*, Latin, mouth; *anti*, Greek, opposite; and *ville*, French, town; make Losantiville, or the "town opposite to the mouth of the Licking." It was hard on such an ingenious scholar to drop his erudite appellation, and to substitute for it Cincinnati, derived from the name of a self-constituted military order which met there.

He spoke of Bolivar and General Paez of Columbia. The former he praised, but regarded him as corrupted and ruined by his ambition. The latter he described as a true and excellent man. He was, he said, destitute of education, but studied when he became a man, and he is now an accomplished scholar. He first distinguished himself by a singular exploit during the War of Independence. Two Spanish gun-boats lay in the river near which Bolivar's army was encamped, and annoyed them seriously. Bolivar had no boats of any kind by which he could approach them. Paez offered to capture them with his division of cavalry. Bolivar thought him in jest, as the idea of attacking two ships of war in a navigable river by means of cavalry seemed far removed from reason. But Paez, assuring him that he was quite serious, obtained leave; and the next morning presented the gun-boats to Bolivar as trophies of victory, and their crews as captives. His mode of accomplishing the feat was the following:—Paez and his division were "reared" in a district which is overflowed by a large river every spring. The houses are built on eminences, and stand, during the inundation, like so many islands in an ocean. Communication is maintained between the families by boats, and also by swimming on horseback. Paez proposed to his men, accustomed to this kind of travelling, to enter the river on horseback, about half a mile above the gun-boats, at night, and to swim down to them with the stream. They readily volunteered; Paez led, and simultaneously both sides of the two gun-boats were entered sword in hand, and captured with-

out a struggle. The horses swam to the shore and joined their regiment.

In the evening we left North Bend, and had a delightful drive along the right bank of the Ohio to Cincinnati. I was impressed by this visit with strong feelings of respect for General Harrison. After a long life spent in the service of his country, he lives, poor indeed, but he seemed cheerful and happy. He does not conceal his poverty, nor does he make the least parade of it. He alludes to it simply as a fact, and he betrayed not one emotion of envy or jealousy of any human being, and still less did he indicate any feeling of disappointed ambition.

Since this visit General Harrison has been elected President of the United States, and enters to his office on the 4th March 1841. The circumstances that have led to his elevation are curious. The year 1838 was one of great "prosperity" in the United States; that is to say, many of the States borrowed largely on bonds, and prosecuted vast internal improvements. These bonds were purchased on favourable terms by the bankers and merchants, who sent them to London, where they sold readily at high prices, and formed extensive funds of credit. On the faith of these credits not only were large orders for European goods transmitted to England and France by the merchants, but the American banks issued their paper in floods. This abundance of currency quickened internal commerce and manufactures; prices rose, and speculation flourished. At this time Mr Van Buren appeared immovably seated

in the "White House." But in 1838 the crop of grain in England failed, large quantities of corn were imported from the Continent of Europe, and a drain commenced on the Bank of England for gold. This led to a contraction of the currency in Britain, followed by commercial distress. The American stocks speedily felt the effect of the shock, and in 1839 became nearly unsaleable. The banks and merchants who had drawn on England on the faith of them, suddenly found their means of meeting their engagements and paying for their large importations cut off; and suspension of cash-payments by most of the banks in the south and west followed. This produced derangement in the exchanges (see vol. iii. p. 107), a stagnation of commerce, and a great fall in the prices of commodities. Cotton, wheat, and tobacco, the great articles of export to Europe, also fell, and their value as remittances to extinguish the American debt in Europe, proportionately diminished. In short, universal distress prevailed. So general was the suffering in the latter end of 1839, and the first half of 1840, that every class in the United States was involved in it. Many of the capitalists were ruined; the merchants and manufacturers sustained enormous losses; the farmers could scarcely obtain money for their produce at any price, and the labourers were thrown out of employment. The Whig party, then in opposition, traced all these disasters to the measures of their Democratic rulers, beginning with the veto exercised by General Jackson on the renewal of the charter of the United States' Bank as a national

institution, down to the Sub-Treasury Bill; and they promised another national bank, restoration of credit, and renewed prosperity, if the people would only place them in power. In any country such an appeal to the interests of a suffering people would have had great influence in determining their choice; in the United States it was irresistible. Its effects were seconded by the character and circumstances of General Harrison himself. He had gained victories, and the American people have an excessive admiration of warriors. They, therefore, formed "Tippecanoe" clubs, and celebrated all his victories in songs. He lived in a log-house; and log-cabins were constructed and carried in proud triumph in the political processions, and this charmed the humblest class, who felt as if, in electing General Harrison, they were raising one of their own number to the Presidency. For twenty years he had drunk only cider, because he was not rich enough to pay for wine; and his political opponents said in derision that it was "hard" cider. Cider casks also became emblems which enlisted the sympathies of hundreds of thousands who used this beverage. These means secured the people; and as the Whigs had long had the majority of the wealthy on their side, General Harrison triumphed by a large majority.

That he was worthy of the honour, and that with many there was generosity of sentiment in honouring his poverty, I most willingly admit; nevertheless, judging philosophically of all the influences by which his election was accomplished, I cannot say that

they were such as an enlightened patriot could boast of as proofs of the intelligence and moral elevation of the people.

The excitement of the public mind during a contest for the Presidentship is great and universal; the tongue ceases to utter, and the ear to hear, any words except those relating to the election; the press groans under the weight of the subject, and all the functions of life seem to be exclusively devoted to it. It is the parent of much drinking and debauchery, of fraud, lying, bribing, cajoling, and intimidating. But it also evolves good. The measures of government are severely scrutinized by reason as well as decided on by passion: the whole Union is moved by one interest, and the impression that they all belong to one nation is vividly excited. Local interests are for the moment forgotten, and one pulse appears to beat from Maine to Mississippi. My fear is, that without the recurrence of these elections, the people of the different States would rapidly come to regard each other as strangers and rivals, and insensibly slacken the bonds which bind them together as one great nation. The elections of members to Congress have not this effect; for although that assembly is national, each of its members represents only a section of the country. The President alone derives his power from the people of the whole Union.

April 15. Ther. 55°. *Kentucky.*—We sailed down the Ohio to Louisville in Kentucky, distance 135 miles, and found it a large thriving town, and apparently destined to become a formidable rival to Cincinnati.

My chief object was to pay a visit to Dr Charles Caldwell, with whom I had corresponded for upwards of twenty years, but whom I had never met. He is one of the most powerful and eloquent medical writers in the United States, and certainly has no rival west of the Alleghany Mountains. He has been the early, persevering, intrepid, and successful advocate of Phrenology; and in his character of medical professor, first at Lexington and latterly in Louisville, has exerted a great influence in its favour. To our regret, he was still suffering from the effects of a recent severe indisposition, and was able to see us only for a few minutes, a circumstance which, on every account, we deeply lamented. He recovered; and before we sailed for Europe I had the pleasure of receiving a passing visit from him in Staten Island. He is now advanced in life, but so full of fire and vigour, that I look forward to his still labouring in the cause of science for many years.

We travelled by an excellent road to Frankfort, the capital of Kentucky, thence by a railroad to Lexington, near which Mr Henry Clay resides, but who was then engaged in the Senate at Washington, and afterwards to Maysville, where we again met the Ohio. Nothing can exceed the fertility and beauty of Kentucky; yet slavery makes it languish. In passing through a portion of Virginia, and also in Kentucky, I narrowly observed the extent of labour performed by slaves, whether as waiters, house-servants, labourers, or tradesmen, and in all these capacities it was greatly inferior both in quantity and quality to

that performed, not only by white men, but by free negroes. In the inns, the slaves run about with a wonderful display of muscular activity, but there is a sad lack of mind in it; they are active in body to avoid yituperation, but their minds are dormant, because they have no interest in their work. The condition of many of the inns, the servants of which are slaves, is very bad. They are sadly dirty and sorely dilapidated; and even in Louisville and Lexington, where they are managed in the best manner possible with such assistants, they are far inferior to the hotels of the same class in the free States, in many of which, too, free Africans are the chief servants. By comparing the amount of exertion, and the progress in work made by the white labourers and tradesmen in Ohio, with those of the slave-labourers and tradesmen in Kentucky, I became convinced that a vigorous German or British emigrant, working by the piece, performs more work than two slaves, and does it better; and that two white labourers, taking them on an average, accomplish more than three slaves. Kentucky, with this inferior quality of labour, competes with Ohio and Indiana and their free labour, separated only by the river; and certainly it is not advancing in prosperity nearly so fast as they do, and this in fact is a relative decline. There is a prevailing expectation, therefore, that her own interests will prompt Kentucky to abolish slavery within a few years, independently of any general movement on the subject by the other slave States.

Great religious revivals were in progress at Frank-

fort when we visited it. The governor of the State had been converted, and prayed publicly every morning at sunrise in one of the churches. The Supreme Court also was in Session, and at table we met the judges and many lawyers. The following dialogue took place at the public breakfast table, and was obviously not of a confidential nature, but on the contrary intended, at least by one of the parties, for general edification. The Rev. Mr ——— said, that the governor had, that morning, given them a most impressive prayer in the church, and turning to the chief-justice, he continued, "When shall we see the chief-justice in the church giving us a prayer?" Chief-Justice—"Why you see I have so many duties to discharge, that I have no time for it." Minister—"But, Chief-Justice, these are all little matters of this world's concernment, and this is the one thing needful!" Chief-Justice—"True, and I have been intending, the first leisure three months I can command, to give the whole subject a thorough consideration." Minister—"But, Chief-Justice, you *believe*, and no time is necessary for consideration. If you begin at once and pray, the kingdom of Heaven will be opened unto you." Chief-Justice—"Well, that is very true, but I don't like to set about a thing without a complete investigation. I want to consider the whole question, and to satisfy myself properly. You see that my time is entirely occupied with these causes; it is my first duty to attend to them, and I have not an hour to bestow on any other subject. I must go to court immediately." This dialogue is character-

istic of the professions of the speakers, and it shews also, that although there is no Established Church in Kentucky, there is no lack of zeal and earnestness in religion.

In Kentucky, slavery exists in its mildest form, and agriculture is the chief employment of the slaves. A farmer buys his ploughman as he does his horses and cattle, and his price is from $700 to $800. Nevertheless, Thomas Jefferson's picture of the effects of slavery is realized even here. In his "Notes on the State of Virginia,"* he says, "There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining his intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one, that his child is present. But, generally, it is not sufficient. The parent storms; the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances." * * * "And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people, that these liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble

* Eighth American Edition, 1801, p. 240.

for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever: that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute that can take side with us in such a contest."

It is impossible to add to the force or eloquence of this exposition of the inherent evils of slavery. I had the pleasure of meeting a gentleman, a native of Virginia, who mentioned, that he had emancipated his slaves and removed to a free State, because, among other effects, he saw that slavery was corrupting the minds of his children. He added, however, that his slaves had not profited by their freedom; the incapacity for self-action and self-control which slavery engenders, renders emancipated Africans, in general, unfit to struggle successfully with the difficulties which surround them. These difficulties arise from the existence of slavery and slave-laws, and of habits of feeling connected with them, in the society into which they are thrown. By them the negroes are degraded and oppressed after they are free, and often become immoral and miserable. Universal emancipation, which should raise all the Africans at once to the condition of free men, and impose on the whites the twofold duty of treating them with kindness and directing their industrial efforts, will probably prove the only safe and beneficial means of terminating slavery.

Return to New York.—We descended the Ohio from Maysville to Cincinnati, and there engaged a comfortable state-room in a steam-boat going up the river to Pittsburg, where we arrived on the 26th of

April. There were only two modes of reaching Philadelphia, one by the Pennsylvania Canal and Portage Railroad across the Alleghany Mountains; the other by the public road. We were assured by every one, that the road was in the worst possible condition, and the inns indifferent, and that the canal was preferable. We accordingly embarked on board of the "James Madison" at 9 P.M., and the scene may be thus described. The boat is fitted up exclusively for carrying passengers. The gentlemen's cabin was about 42 feet long, 15 broad, and 7 high; and the ladies' cabin 12 feet long, 13 broad, and 7 high. Behind the ladies' cabin was a dressing-room for them, 6 feet by 7 or so. Before the gentlemen's cabin was the bar-room and the kitchen. There were windows all along on both sides of the boat. There was one small sky-light in the roof of the gentlemen's cabin. Into this space were stowed 35 men, 19 women, and 10 children, 7 of whom were at the breast. The rate of travelling by the boats was four miles an hour. The distance from Pittsburg to Harrisburg is 286 miles, of which we travelled by the canal 249, and by the Portage Railroad 37 miles, occupying four nights and three days. The beds were ranged continuously along each side of the boat, in three tiers, all within the space of 7 feet in height, and they ran directly across the windows; every one of which was anxiously closed, to prevent the ingress of cold and damp air. The passengers, whose beds reached to the door, insisted on closing it also to keep out the cold; so that there was only the small sky-light in the gentlemen's cabin for ventilating thirty-five pair of lungs;

and it, too, was packed round on every side by luggage, and covered on the top on account of rain. During the day the beds, consisting of mattresses, sheets, pillows, and cotton quilts, were piled one above another, as close as they could be packed, in a corner of the boat, and inclosed within folding-doors and a curtain, so as to be out of sight, and to occupy as little space as possible. They were stowed away the moment the passengers left them in the morning, and continued so until bed-time. The smell of animal effluvia, when they were unpacked, was truly horrid. The mattresses and quilts, from their construction, could not be washed, and they were saturated with the perspiration of every individual who had used them since the commencement of the season, or probably from the time when they were first taken on board. There was no provision for holding the clothes of the passengers during the night, except laying them on stools which were speedily upset, or on the floor, which all day had been spit upon by innumerable chewers of tobacco. The sense of suffocation in bed was distressing, and on rising the feeling of discomfort and fatigue proved that nature had not been refreshed. During the day we breathed fresh air on deck, and opened the windows. The cooking was astonishingly well accomplished, considering the small accommodation; and the meals were unexceptionable; but I should willingly have lived on bread and water for a clean bed and fresh air at night. The second night revealed a new horror. The beds had been packed up promiscuously, and they were tossed out in the same

manner; so that each night every man got a different sheet, mattress, and quilt, as they chanced to come to hand, which had been used by his neighbours the night before, who in their turn received his!

At Hollydaysburg eight or ten clergymen, of various denominations, with the wives and children of some of them, joined the boat, and we had now upwards of seventy passengers on board. The Captain said that we should soon be "damning" him on account of our discomfort; but he was guiltless, and nobody, within my hearing, said an uncivil word to him. He was attentive, and did all that he could to contribute to the welfare of the passengers; but little was in his power. At night one of these clergymen put the question to the vote of the passengers, whether they would have religious exercises. The majority voted in favour of his proposal, and we had prayers and psalms. The majority knelt on the floor, which had been defiled all day by tobacco saliva; and after shutting up all the avenues to fresh air, and preparing to sleep in unwholesome bedding; in short, after setting aside all the laws of health, and assembling around them the natural causes of croup and fever for the children, and of pulmonary affections for themselves,—they prayed fervently to God for spiritual blessings, and also for refreshing slumbers and sound health, and to be raised up next morning invigorated and cheered for the labours and duties of the day! They were not rough, wild, excited fanatics; on the contrary, with one exception, they were gentle, kind, cultivated, Christian men. Their exercises were not only clothed in the

words, but breathed the very spirit, of benevolence and veneration, and their language, always appropriate, was in some instances even elegant and touching. But they were sadly deficient in the knowledge of God's physical creation. Their prayers for health, in these circumstances, appeared to me little short of a mockery of Heaven; they did not mean them as such, and of course were not guilty of irreverence; but God must have suspended his natural laws before he could have given effect to their petitions; and when the question is put, whether rational beings should expect that God should work miracles in order to save them from the consequences of their own ignorance and neglect of his laws,—or whether they should ventilate their boat, and preserve decent cleanliness in their night apparel; as a preliminary condition to receiving the blessing of health,—there can scarcely be two opinions on the subject. It was their duty to observe the laws of health, before praying for the blessing appointed by the Creator to flow from that obedience. In point of fact their prayers, on this subject, appeared to me not to have been answered; for in the morning I heard one of them complaining that he felt as if he had no life in him,—that his head was as if filled with some heavy inanimate matter; another complained of pain in his head; a third of nausea; and two who were affected with bronchitis, mentioned how much worse they felt in the morning; while the wife of one of them wondered how, on rising, she was seized with faintness, and continued for hours to feel as if she should sink down insensible on the floor. I did

not hear one of them connect these sufferings with the bad air and uncleanly condition in which they had passed the night. We had prayers and psalms in the morning, and again on the second evening; but as it rained incessantly, and the cabin was kept, if possible, still more close, the suffering increased; and, for my own part, I did not recover my usual feelings of internal comfort and mental alacrity for several days after we had escaped from this torturing prison.

These clergymen, certainly, were only passengers, and could not alter the circumstances in which they and we were placed. But if they had known and respected God's natural laws, they might have used the great influence which they obviously possessed over he minds of the passengers, in inducing them to admit at least some portion of fresh air, and also in giving effect to a general complaint to the owners of the boats against arrangements so manifestly injurious to health, and which a little skill and expense could unquestionably have remedied.

Some of these ministers were Methodists, and they mentioned that their society allows each preacher $100 for himself, besides his travelling expenses; $100 for his wife, if he be married; $16 for each child below seven, and $24 for each child above seven, and below fourteen years of age, all per annum. Each preacher has a district which he must traverse every six weeks, and at the end of every two years his circuit is changed. These are all the allowances, except gifts from their flocks. By this ma-

chinery the thinly-scattered population of the west is preserved within reach of Christian ordinances and cultivation. The love of souls alone can induce men of ordinary attainments to embrace so laborious and ill-requited a profession.

Part of the scenery through which we passed is said to be exquisitely beautiful, but a heavy rain descending through a thick mist prevented us from seeing any object at a distance exceeding a hundred yards from the boat.

One of the passengers in conversing with me asked—"Have you been to the west?"—"A short way only."—"Have you been long in the country?"—"Only about twenty months."—"Did you go to settle?"—"No."—"Were you at St Louis?"—"No, not so far."—"On the Ohio, then?"—"Yes, as far as Louisville."—"Were you thinking of buying land in Kentucky?"—"No."—"Do you go to Baltimore?"—"No, to Philadelphia."—"Are you settled there?"—"No."—"Farther east perhaps?"—"Yes, a good way farther east."—"What is the name of the town?"—"Why, if you have any particular interest in knowing, I will tell you."—"Oh no, not any particular interest; only one likes to know the gentlemen one travels with. If we hear them inquired about, we can say that we saw them."—"I do not think that there is much chance of your being asked about me." Here the dialogue terminated; but all this was said quite civilly, and without the least intention of rudeness.

The day after this conversation C—— missed a

silver fruit-knife, which she valued highly; and I used every means to discover whether she had dropt it in the boat, but in vain. It was given up as lost; when, some hours afterwards, I saw it in the hands of the individual who had interrogated me so minutely. "That's my wife's fruit-knife," said I, "which she lost yesterday; where did you find it?" —"Oh, I found it last evening on the deck between two trunks; I have since been inquiring to whom it belonged, and could not find an owner."—"But my wife's initials are on it—C. C."—"True, I saw these letters, but as you would not tell me any thing about yourself yesterday, I had no idea that these were your wife's initials." The inquisitive gentleman kindly returned the knife; and I felt that he had got completely the better of me on this occasion.

April 30. Ther. 55°. We stayed a day at Harrisburg, and admired exceedingly the beauty of the Susquehanna River, on the left bank of which it stands. The village itself, although the political capital of Pennsylvania, is small, plain, and unpretending.

May 1. Ther 56°. We started this morning at 7 o'clock by a railroad for Philadelphia. The country through which it passed is all cleared, highly fertile, well cultivated, and possesses much natural beauty. The farm-houses and offices looked substantial, clean, and neat; we were told that a great part of the population is of German descent, and that they preserve the language and manners of their original country. At 1 P.M. the engine was allowed to run off the track; and we lost two hours before it could be

restored to its place, by means of tackle and a multitude of men. No injury was done to it or any of the passengers; but we had not proceeded far when the engine stood still. All the coals had been consumed, and the engineer had supplied their place with green oak, which would not burn. At last a baggage train came up and pushed our train before it to the next station, where we got a supply of combustible fuel. The engine then performed its duty well, and at 7 P.M. we arrived at Philadelphia, three hours behind the usual time. The distance was 105 miles. During all these delays, the results of sheer carelessness, not an angry or discontented word was heard from the passengers, who were very numerous. The railway train from Philadelphia to New York started at 5 P.M., and we should have arrived an hour before that time, instead of two hours after it. Many individuals who had urgent business and appointments in New York found their plans deranged, and suffered serious inconvenience; yet they bore the disappointment with most exemplary patience and good humour.

May 9. Ther. 45°. *Philadelphia and Boston.*—I have now seen something of both Boston and Philadelphia, and they present distinct mental characteristics. In Boston literature is more cultivated than science, and speculation is preferred to physical investigation. A person gains reputation there, by having at command all the striking passages of Shakspeare, and knowing every reading of his text, and the opinions of his commentators; by studying Italian, and being able to quote Dante; by learning

German and becoming eloquent in Göethe. It is not necessary that he should know chemistry, natural philosophy, natural history, physiology, or even geology. The Bostonians are learned in literature, write well, and speak well; but an ingenious theory has more charms for them than a laborious inquiry into scientific truth. The educated men of Philadelphia study science more generally and extensively. They are precise and accurate in their knowledge of facts and natural phenomena, and solid in their inductions and conclusions; but they know less of books, commentators, theories, and opinions. The temperament of the educated class in Boston presents more of the sanguine and nervous elements than that of the same class in Philadelphia; and in them also, the anterior lobe is, perhaps, a little larger, while the moral organs are generally large in both. In their present condition, the Philadelphians are the more scientific thinkers, and more in harmony with the first class of minds in Europe. Boston, however, takes a deeper interest than Philadelphia in moral, intellectual, and religious pursuits. Boston resembles Edinburgh in the days of Dugald Stewart, when great reputations were founded on acquirements in metaphysics and belles-lettres, and when distinguished literary men were unacquainted even with the rudiments of physical science.

Debts of the American States.—I have frequently been asked whether, in my opinion, the American States will preserve faith with their public creditors and pay their debts. A vast extent of information

beyond what I can pretend to possess, would be necessary to enable any one to deliver a satisfactory answer to this question; but some ideas may be presented which may serve to enable others to elucidate it in a more satisfactory manner. The subject divides itself naturally into two heads, 1st, The ability of the States to redeem their obligations; and 2dly, Their willingness to do so. Ample and correct information in regard to the first head, may be obtained from Mr Trotter's "Observations on the Financial Position and Credit of such of the States of the North American Union as have contracted Public Debts." This work was commended by the American press, and in the United States its details are regarded as worthy of being relied on. I frequently conversed with bankers and capitalists on the subject of the State debts; and in travelling into different parts of the Union, I endeavoured to form some estimate, necessarily a vague one, of the resources of the States. Premising, then, that the debts of the different States have been incurred, not to prosecute wars and measures of destruction, but chiefly to form canals, roads, and railroads, and to institute banks, I remark, that the general opinion which I heard expressed was, that from one-half to one-fourth of the sums constituting the debts of most of the States, have been wasted through unskilful application and lavish expenditure,—the inevitable accompaniments of works undertaken by a popular government; but that the remainder has been beneficially invested. The waste differs much in different states; but allowing for its

utmost magnitude, and viewing the extent of surface, the salubrity of the climate, the fertility of the soil, the mineral riches, and all the other natural advantages of the country, together with the industry and ingenuity of the people, the debts appear to me to be a mere trifle in comparison with the resources of the States. Wealth and population are augmenting so rapidly, that twenty years hence, the present amount of State debts, with few exceptions, would scarcely be felt as burdens according to European notions, although both principal and interest were raised by direct taxation. I never heard a man of the least judgment doubt the *ability* of all the States to meet their obligations; and so far as my own means of judging extend, I concur in this view.

After travelling through a considerable portion of Pennsylvania, and contemplating the amazing richness of her soil and mines, and the very great advantages which she derives from her canals and railroads (with all their faults) and after witnessing the industry, economy, and wealth of her people, the amount of her debt appeared to me to be no formidable incumbrance on her resources.

It is stated in the American Almanack for 1840, as follows :—

For canals, bearing 5 per cent. interest		$ 16,576,527.00
Railroads, do.	do.	4,964,484.00
Turnpikes and bridges,	do.	2,595,992.00
Miscellaneous,	do.	3,166,787.00
	Total,	$27,306,790.00

In the American Almanack for 1841, the total stock and domes-

tic debt of Pennsylvania are stated to amount to $33,016,149.00, or a little more than six millions and a half sterling.

In 1830, her population amounted to 1,348,232, and it must now reach nearly to 1,800,000 ; while her soil is capable of supporting probably ten millions in abundant comfort. Her financial embarrassments, therefore, arise not from the magnitude of her debt in relation to her means of payment, but from difficulties in bringing the latter forward to meet her engagements ; and the same may be predicated of every other State which has paused in the discharge of the interest of its debt.

If the revenues of the canals, railroads, and banks, to which the borrowed money has been applied, should prove sufficient for repayment of the debts, no doubt can reasonably be entertained on the subject. Any proposal to devote these revenues to other public purposes, and to defraud the public creditors, would, in my opinion, be rejected by the legislatures of all the States without a moment's hesitation. But in some instances these revenues have already proved insufficient to discharge the interest of the debts ; and in Pennsylvania in particular, the alternative has presented itself, of submitting to taxation in order to raise funds to pay the interest, or of declaring the State insolvent. This occurred in the beginning of 1840, when the interest of the public debt remained unpaid for one day. The difficulty was then surmounted, by a loan from the suspended banks, and the interest was discharged ; but this was a mere temporary expedient ; and during the session of that

year the proposition was fairly brought before the Legislature, to impose taxes to make up the deficiency between the revenues yielded by the canals and railroads, and the interest of the public debt. The majority of both houses of the Legislature, and also Governor Porter, were Democrats, and they had obtained the ascendancy in the State, in a great measure, by reason of their hostility to the banks and the paper-currency system, and especially to the bank of the United States. By a singular coincidence, also, it happened, that at the time when recourse to taxation became necessary to avoid insolvency, the United States' Bank, by suspending specie payments, had forfeited its charter, and fallen prostrate under the power of these legislators. The electors and legislators of Pennsylvania, besides, are by no means so enlightened as those of some of the Eastern States; so that, altogether, a combination of circumstances presented itself, well adapted to bring the second question to trial, whether an American State Legislature will venture to impose taxes on the people in order to discharge their public debts.

To the honour of Governor Porter, he never hesitated for a moment, but from the first occurrence of the difficulties, declared himself in his messages to the Legislature ready to support the public credit by dealing discreetly with the suspended banks, and by resorting to taxation to supply the deficiency of the revenue; and he called on the two Houses to do their duty to the State in the same spirit. The measures which he suggested met with great opposition. Se-

veral bills were brought in to deprive the United States' Bank of its charter, and some of them passed one of the Houses; but the attempts to pass a bill for raising taxes to pay the interest of the debt were again and again defeated. Individuals were not wanting, in the Legislatures both of Pennsylvania and other States, who openly advocated bankruptcy, and seemed to rejoice in the prospect of cheating the public creditors, especially the bond-holders in Britain. I was told that the conferences, arguments, explanations, and entreaties used by the more enlightened members of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, chiefly belonging to the cities, to induce the farmers and country members to pass a tax-bill, were innumerable. The session dragged on, and no bill was passed. Speeches were delivered, and articles written in the newspapers, discussing the question with the utmost zeal, and still the opposition raged. At last, however, at the very close of the session, a tax-bill was passed, and the bank-charter was spared. The farmer-proprietors, however, in the Legislature, imitating the British Parliament, preserved all real estate free from assessment, and imposed the taxes on personal property alone. The following extract from the New York Weekly Herald of 20th June 1840 contains the particulars of the bill.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania have again adjourned, after passing the tax-bill, the bill to pay the interest on the State loans, and the improvement bill. The tax-bill provides as follows:—

SYNOPSIS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA TAX-BILL.

On all dividends by banks or corporations of one per cent. or over—on $1, a tax of . . . . 1½ mills.

On $1 of all taxable property, occupations, &c. .	1 mill.
On $1 of all bonds, stocks (except State), monies at interest, &c., on which 1 per cent. dividend may accrue, ...	½
On all household furniture, and plate exceeding $300 —per $1 of value, ...	5
On pleasure carriages, ...	1 per cent.
On gold watches, ...	1 dollar.
On gold and silver watches, . . .	75 cents.
On other watches, ...	50 cents.
On all salary offices, ...	1 per cent.

This, it is estimated, will yield $1,000,000. This, it is supposed, will be sufficient to obviate the necessity of resorting to new loans to pay interest on State stocks. The revenues and expenditures of the State last year were as follows:—

Revenue.

Canal and railway tolls, . . .	$821,780	
Auction duties, . . .	101,728	
Dividends of banks, &c., . . .	207,097	
Tax on bank dividends, . .	133,440	
Bank charters, ...	100,000	
Other sources, . . .	257,074	
		$1,621,119

Expenditures.

Government expenses, .	$412,751	
Canal repairs, &c., . . .	376,336	
Common schools, . . .	385,253	
Interest on loans, . . .	1,296,010	
Other expenses, . . .	238,513	
		2,708,863
Deficiency, . . .		$1,087,744

The State treasurer's estimate for 1840 was as follows:—

On hand, January 1. 1840, . .	$1,337,170
Estimated receipts, . .	2,914,275
Total means, . . .	$4,251,445
Estimated payments, . .	5,267,333
Deficiency, . .	$1,015,888

From this it appears that the new tax will be sufficient to cover the deficiency. The bill to pay the interest on the State loans, provides that in future all interest upon loans shall be paid in specie; and also provides for the payment to holders of State stock the difference between bank notes and specie, on the sums paid for interest during the suspension. The senate amended the improvement bill by striking out the clause requiring the United States' Bank to loan the money at 4 per cent., and substituting a resolution authorizing the governor to borrow in the market at an interest not exceeding 5 per cent.

Thus far the example is salutary, and calculated to inspire confidence in the honour of the American States; and my conviction is that it will be generally followed. Mr Trotter, in enumerating the motives which may be relied on to induce the American democratic legislatures to pass tax-bills to fulfil their public engagements, trusts chiefly to the influence of religion and education; but, in addition to these, the operation of the powerful motives of self-interest, and fear of public opinion, may be mentioned. In compliance with a resolution of the House of Representatives, the Auditor-General communicated the following information relative to the banks, savings institutions, and loan companies of Pennsylvania, returns having been made from fifty-two institutions:—

Statement of the stock of the bank of the United States of Pennsylvania, January 1. 1840.

Number of persons holding stock to the amount of

			5 shares and under,	864
Do.	Do.	10	„	661
Do.	Do.	20	„	732
Do.	Do.	50	„	994
Do.	Do.	100	„	588
Do.	Do.	500	„	814
Do.	Do.	over 500	„	80

Par value of the Stock, $100 per share.

The number of shares held by	
Females,	29,876
Executors and Guardians,	4,256
Trustees,	16,248
Benevolent Institutions,	1,758

Number of Stockholders in the United States.

Maine,	16	Brought forward,	2,665
New Hampshire,	23	North Carolina,	27
Vermont,	4	South Carolina,	340
Massachusetts,	106	Georgia,	36
Rhode Island,	40	Ohio,	22
Connecticut,	60	Kentucky,	18
New York,	230	Tennessee,	4
New Jersey,	117	Indiana,	2
Pennsylvania,	1,481	Illinois,	4
Delaware,	51	Alabama,	1
Maryland,	289	Missouri,	2
District of Columbia,	37	Mississippi,	1
Virginia,	211	Louisiana,	11
Carry forward,	2,665		3,133

Number of Stockholders in Europe and elsewhere, excepting United States.

Great Britain & Ireland,	1,185	Brought forward,	1,324
France,	36	Denmark,	2
Spain,	59	Switzerland,	4
Portugal,	6	West Indies,	52
Germany,	10	East Indies,	1
Holland,	26	South America,	2
Belgium,	1	Mexico,	3
Prussia,	1	Nova Scotia,	2
Carry forward,	1,324		1,390

Statement of the amount of five, ten, and twenty dollar notes of the Bank of the United States in circulation on the 1st of January 1840.

Five dollar notes issued under the eighth section of the improvement act, passed July 19. 1839, . .	$ 20,000.00
Ten dollar notes, ...	1,831,110.00
Twenty dollar notes, ...	1,138,880.00

When the Democratic party was in opposition, they breathed unmitigated hostility against the United States' Bank, and why did they not destroy it when it fell fairly under their power in 1840? One answer will be found in the foregoing statement of the number of shares held by females, executors, guardians, and trustees; and in the number of stockholders in the United States. To have withdrawn its charter, would have carried loss and suffering into thousands of families, which would have reached either directly or indirectly almost every individual in the Legislature. Public opinion also would have raised its powerful voice in denunciation of such a measure, and most of the members who should have voted against it, would have been rejected at the next election. Hence the very men, who in opposition clamoured most loudly for the destruction of this institution, were spell-bound by public interest and public sentiment when they acquired the power to execute their own aspirations!

I was told by a member of the Legislature, that one great objection to the bill for raising a tax was thus stated by the farmers. "Why should we be oppressed by taxes to support the nobility of England," they believing that the State debt was held chiefly by the British nobility. I paid little attention to this report, supposing that it referred probably to the case

of one, or at least very few individuals; but it derives some countenance from another head of the Auditor-General's return relative to the Bank of the United States, which is in these words. "The nobility holding stock are: Earls, 2; Marquises, 2; Counts and Countesses, 8; Lords, 2; Knights, Barons, and Baronets, 28." If the stock of the United States bank had belonged altogether to foreigners, the two powerful motives before stated, to spare its charter, would have operated with less weight, and the result might have been more doubtful.

The same remarks apply to the State debts. They are not due exclusively to European creditors, but, in almost every State of the Union, large investments have been made in them by the banks, and also by private persons who have realized capital. A State bankruptcy, therefore, would be a highly unpopular measure, and would carry misery far and wide into private circles; from which it would directly operate against the individuals whose votes in the Legislature had permitted it to happen. The aversion to taxation is great every where, and particularly in the United States; and no surer road to popularity can be found than in resisting a tax; but on the other hand, a state bankruptcy would, if possible, be a still more unpopular measure, from the ruin of families, of banks, insurance offices, and charitable institutions, and also the universal insolvency which it would draw after it; and, supposing American morality be neither greater nor less than that of other nations, it appears to me that the faith which the financiers and best

informed merchants of the Eastern cities entertain in the ultimate security of almost all of the State stocks, is well founded. These views will be better appreciated after perusing the following additional extract from the Auditor-General's Report.

"The returns from fifty-one other Banks, Loan Companies, and Savings Institutions in Pennsylvania, shew the following result:

Amount of $5 notes in circulation, 1st January 1840,	$1,175 535
Amount of $10 in circulation, 1st January 1840,	1,660 161
Amount of $20 in circulation, 1st January 1840,	776 740
Number of Stockholders,	12,548
Number holding 5 shares and under,	3,422
Do. 10 do.	2,995
Do. 20 do.	2,831
Do. 50 do.	2,647
Do. 100 do.	1,408
Do. 500 do.	933
Over 500 shares,	52
Number of shares held by Females,	39,860
Do. do. Executors,	10,956
Do. do. Guardians,	5,541
Do. do. Trustees,	10,185
Officers of Benevolent Institutions,	1,685
Title of Nobility,	none.

As a single specimen of the extent to which State stocks are held by the banks in the United States, I present the following extract from the Utica Observer (State of New York) of 3d March 1840, written, as I was informed, by a gentleman possessing accurate information and sound views on the subject of banking.

"*The Scarcity of Money.*—The comptroller's late report to the Legislature, shews that up to December the 1st, the free banks

of this State, New York, had invested but a trifle short of five millions of dollars in State stocks; the whole of this, with the exception of less than half a million, was in the stocks of Illinois, Arkansas, Alabama, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, and other western states. The investment is in effect a loan to those states—and it accounts very plainly for the unexampled scarcity of money at home.

Oneida county has thus loaned to states,	$190,000
Erie,	1,030,000
Monroe,	221,000
Niagara,	175,000
Onondaga,	180,000
St Lawrence,	130,000
Genesee,	136,000
Wayne,	110,000
Herkimer and Montgomery,	130,000
Seneca,	97,000
Orleans,	81,500
Tompkins,	65,000
Jefferson,	76,000
Broome,	75,000
Livingston,	75,000
Steuben,	75,000
Tompkins,	65,000

"Any person can see that the more we have of such banks the poorer we must become. They commence by collecting all the money that exists in their neighbourhood, and loaning it to distant states, whence it is practically never to return. From the county of Erie, more than a million of dollars have been thus sent; and no county in the state is so prostrated as Erie, in all its business operations. If all the investments had been made in the stocks of our own State, the effect would be equally impoverishing to the neighbourhood; for the stock, after it is procured, is only locked up in the Comptroller's office. The neighbourhood receives no benefit in return, except that the new bank has the privilege of issuing bank notes to the amount of money that it has sent abroad for state stock. And even this benefit

is fallacious, because experience proves that the bank notes thus issued, effect no more than to drive out of circulation an equal amount of safety fund banks notes; so that the operation ends by making the community poorer than they were before in funds, to the whole amount that has been invested in state stocks. Nor is this quite all the mischief. The safety fund banks are so weakened by the loss of circulation, and the more rapid return than formerly, of what they issue, that they are compelled to reduce their loans to a much greater amount than the loans of the new banks can compensate for."

It requires little reflection to perceive that if the States, whose bonds have thus become the subjects of such large investments by the New York country banks, were to declare themselves bankrupt, the loss and misery would be unspeakably great; and I therefore consider that the different States are bound together, in some degree, by their debts; that a strong guaranty for good faith to the foreign creditor is implied in the interest which the American people themselves feel in preserving their public credit; and that this interest reaches the vast majority even of the Democratic voters. I therefore look forward to the States preserving their faith with their creditors, whether foreign or domestic.

Laws relative to Banking in the State of New York. —I have procured, by the kindness of a legal friend, a brief summary of the laws relative to banking in the State of New York, which I present in the Appendix No. XI. Although these banks were bound by law to redeem their circulating notes either in specie or by a draft on New York, yet, during the suspension of specie payments in Pennsylvania and the south and west in 1840, their paper fell to a dis-

count of from 2 to 5 per cent.; and in May 1840 the comptroller of the State was almost daily bringing large amounts of stocks and other property deposited with him by "the Free Banks" to sale by public auction, to redeem their circulation; and in some instances the proceeds of the sales were not sufficient for this purpose.

The Manhattan Bank.—In December 1840, Mr Robert White was tried in New York for the assault on Mr Jonathan Thompson, mentioned in page 317, and he was sentenced to pay a fine of $250, and to be imprisoned for fifteen days.

Negroes of the Amistad Schooner.—The trial which was to decide the fate of these negroes (see vol. iii. p. 75), took place in January 1840, and an appeal was entered to the Supreme Court of the United States. I have delayed noticing the decision, in the expectation of the appeal case being disposed of; but as I now learn that it will not be heard until long after my departure from the United States, I present the following summary of the views of the District Judges.

"*Amistad Trial—Termination.*—Having just returned from New Haven, where, on behalf of the Committee acting for the captured Africans, I have been attending the district Court, I hand you an Extra of the New Haven Palladium containing the opinion of the Judge, of which the following is an abstract. The opinion is not very accurately printed, owing to its being done in haste, and in the night. On Wednesday, the Judge read an elaborate opinion, in which he decided:—

"1. That the District Court of Connecticut has jurisdiction, the schooner having been taken possession of in a legal sense on the 'high seas.'

"2. That the libel of Thomas R. Gedney and others is properly filed in the District Court of Connecticut.

"3. That the seizers are entitled to salvage, and an appraisement will be ordered, and one-third of that amount and cost will be decreed just and reasonable.

"4. That Green and Fordham of Sag-Harbour, who claim to have taken original possession of vessel and cargo, cannot sustain their claim, and therefore their libels be dismissed.

"5. That Ruez and Montez, through the Spanish Minister, have established no title to the Africans, as they are undoubtedly Bozal negroes, or negroes recently imported from Africa, in violation of the laws of Spain.

"6. That the demand for restitution, to have the question tried in Cuba, made by the Spanish Minister, cannot be complied with, as, by their own laws, it is certain they cannot enslave these Africans, and therefore cannot properly demand them for trial.

"7. That Antoine, being a Creole, and legally a slave, and expressing a strong wish to be returned to Havana, a resolution will be decreed under the treaty of 1795.

"8. That these Africans be delivered to the President of the United States, under the 2d sect. of the Act of March 3. 1839, and the 1st sect. of the Law of 1818, still in force, to be transported to Africa, there to be delivered to the agents appointed to receive and conduct them home.

"The Court stands adjourned to meet at Hartford on the 23d instant, and meantime the decree will not be entered, to give an opportunity to the parties to appeal, if they see fit. Respectfully yours,

"LEWIS TAPPAN.

[The opinion of Judge Judson in the Evening Palladium, fills nearly eight closely printed columns, the substance of which seems to be embodied in the abstract given above.]

On the Spirit of British Legislation.—In the preceding pages of this work, I have spoken freely of the defects of American legislation, but it is instructive to compare it with that of our own country.

Before the passing of the Reform Act in 1832, the majority of the House of Commons was elected by the influence of the landed aristocracy; and as they also constituted the House of Peers, the Legislature of the kingdom represented substantially only one class of the community. The middle ranks were able to return a few members to the House of Commons, who gave utterance to their sentiments and wishes, but who were powerless in protecting the rights of that portion of the nation against the power of the higher, while the lower orders were not represented at all. The few members elected by the freemen of some of the burghs cannot be named as representatives of the labouring population. In those days the Government of Great Britain was that of an aristocracy; and the following, among many others, are specimens of the spirit of their legislation.

In the reign of William III., the land-tax was fixed at 4s. in the pound upon the valuation of all real estate, and then yielded L.1,997,000 annually. It amounted to about two-fifths of the whole public burdens; and it was equal to nominally one-fifth, but allowing for a low valuation, probably to one-sixth of the real land rents of the kingdom.

This tax has never been raised since the reign of William III.; while the taxes which bear on the lower and middle classes have been enormously increased.

At the Union, the land-tax of Scotland was fixed at L.48,000, which amounted probably to one-third of the whole revenue of the country, and was pro-

bably equal to *one-fifth* of the real rents of the land-holders. It has never been augmented :—it does not now exceed one-hundredth part of the real rents of the land ; and it forms only about one-hundredth part of the taxes paid by the country. Sir John Sinclair* estimates it at twopence per pound, which is less than one per cent. on the rents.

The British Parliament imposed heavy inventory duties on the personal property of persons deceasing, when passing to their executors, but exempted real estate from this burden.

They imposed heavy legacy duties on personal property, but exempted real estate from them also.

They imposed a duty of 3s. per cent. on the *value* of all property *insured* by the subjects of Great Britain, but exempted *agricultural stock, produce, and implements*, from the tax.

They imposed taxes on dogs and horses, from which agriculturists, with few exceptions, have been exempted.

They imposed a heavy window tax, from which agricultural tenants who pay under £.200 a-year of rent are exempted.

They exempted real estate from attachment for personal debts, and this law has been only lately repealed.

They authorized entails, by means of which real estate is preserved to a series of heirs, unattachable by the claims of creditors.

They authorized the impressment of seamen, and

* General Report, i. p. 113.

compelled them to serve in the navy for less wages than they could have obtained in the merchant's service; the effect of which was to deprive this class of persons of their liberty, and of the legitimate value of their labour, in order to protect the property, and save the pockets, of the rich.

They nominally compelled all ranks, when balloted for, to serve in the militia, but made the fine for non-enrolment L.20 for each person. This was tantamount to the enactment of personal service by the poor, and exemption for the rich; because the fine was equal to half a year's income of a labouring man, while it did not exceed a week's income to the middle ranks, and not a day's income to the higher.

They prohibited the labouring classes from combining to raise the price of their labour, but left the higher classes at liberty to combine to depress it; and this law has only lately been repealed.

They prohibited the exportation of machinery, thus shutting out the product of the labourer's industry and skill from foreign markets; and only lately has this law been repealed.

They have imposed heavy duties on the importation of corn and other necessaries of life, the effect of which is to raise the rents of land at the expense of the consumers, who are the great body of the people. The tax on corn varies with the price of grain in the home market.

Under the present existing Corn Laws of Great Britain (Act 9th Geo. IV. cap. 60) the duty on Foreign wheat is as follows, viz:

When the average price of wheat is at and above

73s.	0d.	℔ Qr.,	duty is	1s.	0d.	℔ Qr.	On Flour	0	7	7 32 ℔ bl.
72	0	.....		2	8	.....	.....	1	7	1 4
71	0	.....		6	8	.....	.....	4	0	1.8
70	0	.....		10	8	.....	.....	6	5	
69	0	.....		13	8	.....	.....	8	2	21.32
68	0	.....	.....	16	8	.....	.....	10	0	5.16
67	0	.....		18	8	.....	.....	11	2	3 4
66	0	.....		20	8	.....	.....	12	5	3 16
65	0	.....		21	8	.....	.....	13	0	13.32
64	0	.....		22	8	.....	.....	13	7	5 8
63	0	.....	...	23	8	.....	.....	14	2	27.32
62	0	.....	.	24	8	.....	.....	14	10	1.6
61	0	.....		25	8	.....	.....	15	5	9.32
60	0	.....		26	8	.....	.....	16	0	1.2
59	0	.....	.....	27	8	.....	.....	16	7	23 32
58	0	.....		28	8	.....	.....	17	2	15 16
57	0	.....		29	8	.....	.....	17	10	5.32
56	0	.....		30	8	.....	.....	18	5	3 8
55	0	.....	..	31	8	.....	.....	19	0	19 32
54	0	.....	.....	32	8	.....	.....	19	7	26.32
53	0	.....		33	8	.....	.....	20	3	1 32
52	0	.....		34	8	.....	.....	20	10	1 4
51	0	.....		35	8	.....	.....	21	5	15 32
50	0	.....		36	8	.....	.....	22	0	22 32
49	0	.....		37	8	.....	.....	22	7	29 32
48	0	.....		38	8	.....	.....	23	3	1.8
47	0	.....		39	8	.....	.....	23	10	11 32
46	0	.....		40	8	.....	.....	24	5	9 16
45	0	.....		41	8	.....	.....	25	0	25.32
44	0	.....	.....	42	8	.....	.....	25	8	
43	0	..	.....	43	8	.....	.....	26	7	7 32

On barley and Indian corn, if the average price is 33s. and under 34s., the duty is 12s. 4d. per imperial quarter, and for every 1s. per quarter of advances in price the duty is increased 1s. 6d., until it reaches 41s. per quarter, at which price and upwards, no more than 1s. per quarter is levied, and the duty in-

creases in like manner 1s. 6d. per quarter as the price declines 1s. or part of 1s. under 33s. per quarter. On oats, if the average price is 25s. and under 26s., the duty is 9s. 3d. per quarter, decreasing 1s. 6d. per quarter as the average price advances 1s. until it reaches 31s., when at that price or more the duty is only 1s. per quarter, and in like manner it is increased 1s. 6d. per quarter for every 1s. or part of 1s. per quarter the average recedes below 25s. to 24s. per imperial quarter.

The import duties on the following articles, are, I believe, stationary. They shew a tendency of the landowners to avail themselves of political power to promote their own interests, by excluding foreign competition :—

Bacon, per cwt.	L.1	8	0
Beer, per 32 gallons,	2	13	0
Butter, per cwt.	1	0	0
Cider, per ton,	21	10	4
Cheese, per cwt.	0	10	6
Cucumbers, *ad valorem*,	20	0	0
Hops, per cwt.	8	11	0
Hay, per load,	1	4	0
Hemp, dressed, per cwt.	4	15	0
Oil, Rape, and Linseed, per ton,	39	18	0
Perry, per ton,	22	13	8
Potatoes, per cwt.	0	2	0
Seeds, Clover, &c.,	1	0	0
Spirits, foreign, per gallon (I. M.)	1	2	6
Timber, per load,	2	15	0

Beef, lambs, mutton, pork, sheep, and swine, are prohibited to be imported.

A high duty is laid on rice, arrow-root, and sago, in order to encourage the use of British corn and potatoes.

A duty of L.1 : 2 : 6 per gallon is levied on brandy, and 9s. 6d. per gallon on rum, in order to encourage,

or rather force, the use of British spirits, which must be made from British grain, and pay high duties of excise.

While they have thus protected land from a due share of taxation, and have enhanced its value by prohibitory duties, at the expense of the people, they have not scrupled to throw a vast amount of taxation on the non-represented masses.

Under the Reform Act the non-electors (including all the males of 21 years of age and upwards) are to the electors in England as 5 to 1; in Scotland as 7 to 1; and in Ireland probably as 14 to 1. The average of the whole United Kingdom is that the non-electors are to the electors as 8$\frac{2}{3}$ to 1. The average of Great Britain, exclusive of Ireland, is 6 to 1.*

In 1831 the population of Great Britain, exclusive of Ireland, was 16,500,000. Of this number, about eleven millions were workmen, agricultural or manufacturing, including their families; and all the other classes, including their families, amounted to the remainder, or five and a half millions. In this estimate the word "workmen" is used as including those only who hire their labour to masters for wages, and their families, and not those who labour directly on their own account, or their families.

The first requisite of life is food, the second clothing, the third comforts, and then come luxuries. Taxation is just in proportion as it absorbs equal portions of the incomes of all classes. If all the

* I am indebted to my esteemed friend, Dr Thomas Murray, Lecturer on Political Economy, for the above and other calculations in this section.

taxes, direct and indirect, paid by a family which spends L.1000 a-year, amount to L.200, and all those paid by a family which expends L.50 a-year amount to L.10, the ratio of taxation is just. But the British taxation is imposed to so great an extent on the *necessaries* of life, that a very large proportion of the labourer's income is absorbed by it, in comparison with that of the rich man. Nine-tenths of a labourer's income must be expended on food and clothing, while probably not a tenth part of a rich man's income is devoted to these objects. The unrepresented eleven millions of labourers, therefore, not only pay a very large proportion of the following duties because they are the most numerous and the great consumers, but the duties bear a larger proportion to *their* incomes than the taxes which affect the rich bear to theirs.

1. *Sugar*, a necessary of life, pays 24s. a cwt., equal to the prime cost of the article if it be the produce of British colonies, while 63s. is charged on all foreign sugars whatever. On 25th May 1829, Mr Huskisson, in his place in the House of Commons, said, "that, owing to the present enormous duty on sugar, he did not go too far when he stated that *two-thirds of the poorer consumers of coffee drank that beverage without sugar.*" The rich scarcely feel the pressure of the duty.

2. *Tea*. The duty on tea, also a necessary of life, is 2s. 1d. per lb., equal to 200 per cent. on Bohea, and it affects the poor much more heavily than the rich.

3. *Coffee.* The duty is 6d. per lb. when imported from our own colonies; but 1s. 3d. when from any foreign country. The same remark applies to it.

4. *Soap.* This is an indispensable necessary of life to all classes, and the want of it is the direct cause of disease: Yet the manufacture of it is impeded by excise restrictions; the materials of which it is made, tallow, barilla, and turpentine, are loaded with duties, and a direct tax is charged upon it, making in all a charge upon it equal to sixty or seventy per cent. *ad valorem.* The importation of it is *prevented* by a custom-house duty of L.4, 10s. per cwt. on hard soap, and L.3 : 11 : 3 on soft.

The following articles may be regarded as the *luxuries* of the poor, which they chiefly consume, and on which they pay the legal duties in a proportion far exceeding the ratio of their numbers to those of the rich, because the rich use them to a very limited extent.

5. *Tobacco and Snuff.* The duty on these amounts, in ordinary years, to L.3,400,000.

6. *Home-made Spirits.* The duty on these, including Ireland, is upwards of L.5,000,000 per annum.

7. *Malt Liquors.* These may almost be regarded as necessaries of life in the humbler ranks. The duty on them has amounted in some years to upwards of L.5,000,000 per annum.

The general result is, that the taxes levied on spirits, malt, hops, corn, soap, sugars, and molasses,—tea, coffee, tobacco, and snuff, amount annually to about

L.26,000,000 odds, and are paid chiefly by the labouring and middle classes. The land-tax, window-duties, and taxes on servants, horses, dogs, carriages, and other minor duties, which are borne exclusively by the upper and middle classes, do not exceed L.4,000,000 yearly.

Here, then, while the humbler classes in Britain are excluded from all influence over the Legislature, we perceive that the classes above them, who have monopolized the privilege of conducting the government and law-making, have so managed the public affairs that they have created the necessity for levying taxes to the amount of fifty millions of pounds annually to preserve the national faith and honour—that they have exempted themselves to an extraordinary extent from these burdens—that they have imposed them unsparingly on the unrepresented classes; and, finally, that they have prohibited the unrepresented from purchasing agricultural produce in foreign markets, where it can be obtained at low prices, in order to increase the revenues of their own estates.

Farther, the criminal law of Great Britain and Ireland, which has been enacted by the rich, and applied chiefly against the poor, was long atrociously unjust and severe, and still retains too much of the same character. If the reader will peruse the Prison Reports which are now made to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, he will see that neglected children of twelve, fourteen, and fifteen years of age are condemned to transportation or imprisonment for periods of seven and ten years for

petty thefts. In the "Reports relating to Parkhurst Prison (Isle of Wight) for 1840," one of the most judiciously conducted prisons in the kingdom, I find: Prisoner, No. 7. "Age,—15." "Offence,—*stealing a sovereign.*" "Sentence,—*seven years.*" "In custody,—*once.*" "Convicted or imprisoned,—*once.*" "Father,—*living.*" "Mother,—*dead.*" "Character which accompanied the prisoner,—*good; connections respectable.*" "Remarks,—*temptation, through master's carelessness, and temptation of fellow-servant.*" P. 11. This is only one of many cases of a similar nature. The treatment of prisoners has been of the most debasing description (see vol. iii. p. 159), and the people have been too often ruled as with a rod of iron. Since the Reform Bill was passed there has been an amendment in the condition of prisons and the treatment of prisoners, and also in the criminal law; but much remains to be accomplished before this branch of our civil administration shall become worthy of a civilized and Christian people.

The Legislature has refused adequate grants for the education of the people. Considering that the national debt was incurred exclusively under the administration of the aristocracy, and that its existence is the cause of much of our heavy taxation, it would be an equitable arrangement to apply the L.8,400,000 raised annually from tobacco, snuff, and home-made spirits (the luxuries, and, in my opinion, the injurious luxuries of the labouring classes), to the education of the people, and to raise a corresponding sum by imposing inventory duties, legacy duties, and direct taxes on real estate.

As the law now stands, the unrepresented masses are able to influence the classes who make the laws only in two ways, either by outrages against social order and property, which are speedily repressed and punished, or by becoming burdens on them as paupers. I am far from believing that legislation can remove all the evils with which the lower classes in Great Britain and Ireland are afflicted, and much farther from recommending universal suffrage as the remedy even for those which legislation may reach. I have elsewhere* said that "no rational person will maintain that one ignorant man is a proper ruler for a great nation, but additions to numbers do not alter the species. Twenty, or a hundred, or a thousand ignorant men, are not wiser than one of them; while they are much more dangerous. They inflame each other's passions, keep each other's follies in countenance, and add to each other's strength."——

I acknowledge also that the great cause of the prosperity of the people in the United States appears to me to be their contiguity to extensive regions of fertile and unsettled land, which drain off the restless and enterprising spirits from all the older States, absorb the population as fast as it increases, pour in plenty to every market, and still preserve the wages of labour high. I met with few British subjects, who, however much they might have advocated universal suffrage at home, continued to admire it after experiencing its effects in the United States. But, while I make these admissions, I regard it as undeniable, that just and wise legislation is capable of ac-

* Moral Philosophy, Chap. 7.

complishing much to benefit,—and partial and unwise legislation much to injure, a people; and it appears to me that British legislation is palpably both unjust and injurious to the unrepresented masses. The Established churches in the three kingdoms have not yet succeeded in inducing the higher classes, whose laws created and support them, to practise the first and fundamental precept of Christianity towards the people, "Love your neighbour as yourself;" and if centuries of teaching of the Gospel, by the most pious and learned of mankind, have been so unsuccessful in this respect, it is not unreasonable at length to try the effect of additional means.

The despotisms of Austria and Prussia are in many respects less injurious to the people than the government of Britain.* The rulers of these countries do not oppress the people with taxes, and leave the rich free; nor do they deliver over the poor to become the uncontrolled subjects of the legislation of the rich. Physically, therefore, they do not injure the masses so deeply. Again, these rules prevent political and social action in *all* classes of their subjects; and the minds of the people become so far dormant as to be in some degree in harmony with their external condition. In Britain, the most ample scope for political and social action is permitted to the higher and

* The influence of these governments on the minds of their subjects is treated of in the next chapter. With respect to taxes, I may notice, that in France, Germany, Austria, and other continental States, the chief burden of them is borne by land. The Contribution Fonciere in France is a permanent property-tax of about 10 per cent. on land and houses.

middle classes, but to the people none. Their minds, however, are agitated and roused by the vivacity of mental action which exists around them, and they feel their own exclusion from the exercise of political power far more keenly than the Austrian people, who, in this respect, see themselves on a level with the noble and the rich. It is a delusion to suppose, that, because the higher ranks are open to receive individuals from the lower, there is no abridgment of their field of political action. Only men of superior talents can emerge from the lower, and take a place in the upper ranks; and, as the masses do not boast of more than average abilities, this liberty of rising can benefit only a few individuals. Besides, while the present state of social arrangement continues, the men of superior minds of their own class are tempted, when they acquire wealth, to leave them, and to assume the prejudices and dislikes of the higher orders, the more effectually to recommend themselve to their new associates.

I have endeavoured, in this work, to expound the principle, that mental action is the first requisite to moral and intellectual improvement. If we expect to confer, on the British people, intelligence,—we must educate them; if self-restraint,—we must intrust them with political power, and train them to use it. It appears to me, therefore, that, retaining the two Houses of Parliament as at present constituted, a limited representation might, with safety and advantage, be granted to the people. The objections to remodelling the House of Commons, and introducing

universal suffrage for all the members, are formidable. The majority of the people in Great Britain and Ireland are uneducated, possessed of little property, and untrained to political action. A legislative assembly which should represent and give effect to their feelings and ideas, would probably lead directly to anarchy. Both in physical circumstances and mental enlightenment, they are inferior to the majority in America; yet even in America the people are not prepared to do justice to their institutions. Universal suffrage in that country is attended with many evils; and I therefore should deprecate its adoption in Britain, at present, as dangerous to the best interests of society. To household suffrage, or any other limited representation, there would be this objection, that it would still leave a large non-represented class, which would become more discontented and impatient, the nearer it was brought to the line which separated it from the represented. To leave the people unrepresented, and to attempt to perpetuate the selfish reign of the upper classes, is neither desirable nor practicable. The working classes are God's creatures, and are as well entitled to justice as the higher ranks. By the peculiar institutions of this country, the middle classes have been trained to admire and act with the higher; but when their eyes are thoroughly opened to the injustice which has been inflicted on the lower, this idol-worship will cease. Besides, the increasing intelligence of the labouring classes will render their calls for justice irresistible.

If we assume, then, the population of Great Bri-

tain and Ireland to amount to twenty-four millions, and that the non-electors are to the electors as eight to one; this will give twenty-one millions of unrepresented persons in the whole of the United Kingdom; or, to obtain round numbers, we may assume them to amount to twenty millions. Suppose the kingdom were divided into 100 districts, each containing a population of 200,000 unrepresented persons. If universal suffrage, limited only by requiring in an elector six months' residence within his ward or county previous to an election,—freedom from conviction for felony,—and twenty-one years of age, were established, and the power of electing one member of the House of Commons were given to each district, the following results might be expected probably to ensue:—The mental faculties of the labouring classes would be provided with a legitimate field of political action, which I consider useful in prompting them to improve their moral and intellectual condition. There would be no non-represented class to foment secret discontent and resistance to the laws: There would be no danger of anarchy, because the members who represent the property of the country would still constitute a large majority in Parliament. The labouring classes would have legitimate organs in the Legislature capable not only of making their grievances known, but of obtaining, to some extent, the redress of them: In all measures regarding which the representatives of property were nearly equally divided, these hundred members could cast the scale on the side which was most favourable to the people. The higher classes, seeing the people

possessed of political power, would be prompted by their own interest, as in the United States, to respect them more, to do them justice, and to assist in elevating their moral and physical condition, and thus by slow degrees our vicious system might be purified, and the British Constitution be adapted to the wants of increasing civilization. The House of Commons is already too numerous; and probably 100 members might be well spared from its present members, whose places might be supplied by the representatives of the people. *Property* would still have five and a half votes to one, even supposing these representatives to be disposed to assail it, which is far from being a probable occurrence.

Whatever may be thought of these suggestions, my humble opinion is, that the present condition of affairs in Britain is so palpably unjust and injurious to the masses, that its permanence is impossible, if man be really a rational being, and if Christianity be true. Those persons, therefore, who regard the Reform Act as a final measure seem blind to the nature of man, and unaware of the age of the world in which they live. It was obviously only the *beginning* of improvement: If it be not, then, in the words of Jefferson, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just;—his justice cannot sleep for ever."

Return to England.—On the 1st June 1840, we sailed from New York in the British Queen. In leaving the American shores we were agitated by profound emotion, awakened not only by parting from many dear and highly valued friends, but by an over-

whelming impression of the grandeur of the moral experiment which is now in progress in the United States. Glorious and cheering hopes for its success mingled with fears lest it may have been begun too soon. As we receded from the scene, however, we reflected that Providence has granted to this people for their moral training and intellectual improvement, the period between the present day, and that on which their vacant lands shall be fully settled, and that existing circumstances indicate that they will employ this interval with a deep sense of its importance, and in the end prove true to themselves and to the cause of universal freedom. As we bounded over the sea to the home of our fathers, Hope joined with the understanding in lending bright colours, to the future destiny of the land which we had left. We had a prosperous and agreeable voyage; and so admirable were the accommodations of the British Queen, and so full of urbanity and attention her commander Captain Roberts and her other officers, that we left the deck of a ship for the first time in our lives with regret. We arrived at Portsmouth on the 16th, and in London on the 17th of June. It is only justice to England to say that, in passing my multifarious effects through the Custom-House of London, I experienced the same facilities and attentions which I have mentioned as afforded to us in Boston. The subject of the next chapter is an address to the people of the United States, which I have been led to believe may be useful, and with which I close this work.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Application of Phrenology to the Present and Prospective Condition of the United States.*

1840.

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I have visited various European countries, Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, Holland, France, and Switzerland, besides the British Isles, for the purpose of observing the condition of the people living under different forms of civil and ecclesiastical government, and one of the motives which led me to repair to your shores was to obtain the means of judging of the influence of democracy on the physical prosperity and mental condition of your nation. I am deeply sensible of the sources of error to which a stranger is exposed in observing and speculating on the institutions of a foreign country; but you will be able to detect and correct the errors regarding your own country into which I may inadvertently fall, and I may be permitted to hope that amidst these will be found some admixture of truth.

The people of the United States are justly proud of their political independence, won at the expense of

* This Chapter contains a great part of my last Lecture on Phrenology, delivered before thirteen different audiences, and which I was frequently solicited to publish. There are a few omissions and some additions; but the substance and arrangement are essentially preserved. My American readers will find a full, able, and accurate report of the entire course of lectures, prepared and published, by my respected friend Dr Andrew Boardman of New York.

many sacrifices; and also of the institutions which the distinguished founders of their government framed and bequeathed to them for their guidance; but if I were to ask different Americans in what the superiority of these institutions consists, I should receive a multifarious variety of answers. Does Phrenology enable us to attain to any precise views on the subject?

In my previous lectures, I have endeavoured to explain to you that happiness consists in the activity of our faculties, and that the greater the number of them called into action, the higher rises our enjoyment. Any object that should delight the eye would be agreeable; but an assemblage of objects that should simultaneously gratify the eye, the ear, the palate, and the senses of touch and smell, would be universally regarded as yielding a still larger measure of gratification; and so with the internal faculties of the mind. There are three conditions, however, under which this activity must exist to render it productive of the greatest amount of happiness. *First*, It must never exceed the limits of health; *Secondly*, The subordination of the inferior to the superior faculties established by nature must be preserved; and, *Thirdly*, The action of the different faculties must be harmonious. The highest enjoyment, therefore, is produced by the *virtuous activity of all the faculties*. The question, then, presents itself—What effects do different forms of government exercise on the activity of the mental faculties?*

* The reader who is not familiar with the phrenological faculties is respectfully requested to read the list of them presented at the end

We may consider, *First*, the influence of a despotic form of government; and I select Austria as an example of a civilized despotism. In Austria, the Emperor is at once the fountain of the laws and the executive power which carries them into effect. His will rules the empire, and is subject to no constitutional control on the part of the people. The religion of the state is Roman Catholic; and the Pope and priests rule as despotically in ecclesiastical as the Emperor does in temporal affairs. Nevertheless, the Austrian is a civilized despotism, and rests essentially on opinion. The Emperor is not a tyrant ruling by means of dungeons and bayonets: He is more like the father of his people: he may be seen walking among them without military guards, or other means of protection, safe in their reverence and affections. I have seen the present Emperor going to church in the town of Ischl, attended by a servant carrying his prayer-book, and two or three gentlemen of his household, so unostentatiously that when he passed as near to me as I am now to you, I could not have discovered his rank, if I had not been told that he was the Sovereign of Austria. Austria, moreover, is governed by laws, and the Emperor acknowledges that, in regard to rights of property, these bind him as well as his subjects. In the village of Baden, about twenty miles from Vienna, where there are celebrated baths, the Emperor is proprietor of a house in an ordinary street, in which he resides when he visits the springs. The house

of the Introduction, in vol. i., with their uses and abuses, which will render this Chapter more clear and interesting.

is in no respect distinguishable in its exterior from those on each side of it. I was told that the late Emperor Francis found it too small, and wished to purchase the contiguous tenement; but that the owner asked an enormous price. The Emperor would not submit to what he considered an imposition, and the proprietor, to force him to his terms, let it for a sort of club-house or tavern. The Emperor made no complaint, but insisted that the laws of decorum and propriety should be observed by the inmates; and when I saw it in 1837, I was assured that it still continued the property of the individual. In the same year I saw the present Emperor and his household, living in a common street in Ischl. He had purchased or hired four ordinary dwelling-houses standing together, and, by internal communications, converted them into one; but in no respect did they differ, in their external aspect, from those of the other inhabitants of the same quarter of the town. I mention these unimportant details to convey to you an idea of the spirit of the Austrian Government as it exists in the Emperor's hereditary States, because many individuals in America, from reading descriptions of its rule in its conquered Italian provinces, imagine it to be everywhere a despotism of fire and sword.

In what respect, then, does this government favour or permit the activity of the mental faculties of its subjects? Viewing the group which constitutes the domestic affections, I answer that it allows them ample scope: Life and property are secure, the soil is reasonably fertile, and industry abounds: The Aus-

trian subjects, therefore, may enjoy the happiness of conjugal life and domestic affection as perfectly as you do under your democratic institutions. Again, looking at the propensities of Acquisitiveness, Self-Esteem, and Love of Approbation, those mainsprings of exertion in the United States, the Austrian is allowed scope for them all. The farmer, the manufacturer, and the merchant, may accumulate and preserve wealth in Austria as in America; distinctions of rank are recognised, and the field of ambition is open for men to rise from humbler to higher grades: By public service and the favour of the Emperor, nobility even may be obtained.

What, then, is wanting? In what respect does the Austrian Government, as a means of diffusing enjoyments and advancing the civilization of its subjects, fall short of yours? In this,—that extremely little scope is allowed for the action of the moral and intellectual faculties beyond the sphere of private life. Man is a social being, and the field of public interests is the one in which his higher powers expand and find their appropriate objects. In Austria this field is shut up to the people, and is appropriated exclusively by the government. The Austrian people do not manage their own schools and colleges, the affairs of their own towns and counties, or appoint their own civil and military officers; nor do they choose their own religious instructors, as you do: The government performs all these duties for them. But Phrenology shews us that the very fundamental element of happiness is *activity*, and that the higher the faculties which are vividly

employed, the more intense and lasting is the pleasure. Now, when man pursues private and domestic objects only, he gratifies chiefly his propensities, which are selfish and inferior in their nature to his moral faculties: It is when he comes forth into the circle of social life, and becomes an agent in producing public good or evil, that his higher powers begin freely to play. A single incident will serve as an example:—The Emperor lately issued an edict intimating that as his subjects had been injured by accidents occurring on railroads, he will levy a fine of 10,000 florins on the directors of the railroad company for every person who shall in future be injured; and if this shall prove insufficient to arrest the evil, he will suppress the railroad altogether. This edict may in itself be wise and paternal; but the power which issued it has no legal limits. And even this, in my opinion, is not its worst feature. In your democracy, in such a case, you would put into action a grand jury, an attorney-general, a judge, a common jury, and many lawyers, and finally the legislature, before you could accomplish the ends reached by the simple edict of the Emperor; and the advantage of all this social machinery does not end merely in protecting your people from oppression: It exercises, and, by exercise, strengthens and carries forward the moral and intellectual faculties of your citizens. The impulse given to the intellect and moral faculties by one of your trials, does not terminate in the court-house, any more than a lesson ends in the school. In both instances the ideas and the activity communicated, remain in the mind, and the

individual is wiser and better in consequence. He follows his private vocation with more effect, rules his family better, and altogether stands forth a more amply developed rational creature, when trained to use his powers in the important arena of social life. This is the grand effect produced by your institutions, which allow you to manage every interest of the community yourselves.

If an Austrian subject, under the influence of powerful benevolence and enlightened intellect, desire to improve the schools, the roads, the police of his town, the laws, or the mode of administering public offices, the Government arrests him in every effort, unless he be employed by itself. If, under the influence of Conscientiousness, Veneration, and enlightened intellect, he wish to purify the religion of his country, he is silenced by priests whom the civil power supports in the exercise of a complete despotism over religious opinion. For instance, in 1839 the Church of Scotland sent the Rev. Mr M'Cheyne, the Rev. Mr Bonar, the Rev. Dr Keith, and the Rev. Dr Black, to Jerusalem to inquire into the condition of the Jews. They returned through Constantinople, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Austria, making investigations into the state of the Jews wherever they went. On 20th November 1839, the Rev. Mr M'Cheyne, in reporting the proceedings of the deputation to the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church, informed them that "in Austria, the government will suffer no missionaries. There we were treated with the utmost severity. All our bibles, our English, our Hebrew, our German bibles were taken away; our papers were

searched to see if they could discover whether we were missionaries, and what were our intentions. In that country it is out of the question to carry the gospel to the poor misguided population. A missionary might stand up for once, but it would be for the first and the last time. There they would not allow you to preach the gospel even to the Jews, who were most ready to receive us; and though they knew they could bring us into difficulty, and get us sent out of the country immediately, we found their synagogue a sanctuary. A Jew, to whom a bible had been given, said in his own tongue, 'none shall see it; none shall see it;' and, so far as the Jews are concerned, they are open for the preaching of the gospel."*

Education is the first means by which the faculties may be roused into activity. It not only furnishes them with the materials of thought, but wakens and calls forth their latent energies. The Austrian Government assumes the control of education, and permits just so much of it to reach the minds of its subjects as will fit them for their condition. The people are instructed in the Roman Catholic as the

* These complaints come with rather a bad grace from the clergy of the Church of Scotland, because the General Assembly has long had a committee of its own members specially charged with the duty of watching, and, as far as lies in their power, preventing, the spread of Roman Catholicism in Scotland. From the spirit of their reports, I am led to fear that, if they wielded the same temporal power which the Roman Catholic Church does in Austria, they would serve a deputation of bishops sent from Rome by the Pope to convert the Scottish people and Jews to their faith, much in the same manner as the Austrians did them; and, like the Austrians, they would not doubt that, in dealing with them in this manner, they were contributing to the glory of God and the salvation of souls. I can make no distinction between sects, when they organize themselves with the special object of watching and obstructing the progress of each other. Perfect freedom of discussion, and the absence of all pains, penalties, disabilities, and dislikes, are, in my humble opinion, indispensable to the eliciting and diffusing of religious truth.

only true religion, and are taught to look upon themselves as bound to yield implicit obedience to the priests and the emperor. They are allowed to learn mathematics, Greek, and Latin; but moral and political subjects are interdicted, because, where imperfection is detected, these lead to efforts for improvement. If an individual see any thing wrong in the social machinery, he is not encouraged to complain of it even to the Government. Any servant, except the highest and most confidential of the Austrian Emperor, who should say that things are better elsewhere, and suggest improvements at home, would be told that he might leave Austria and go into his own Utopia. The Government will not permit its subjects even to reside in other countries, to obtain a a higher education than their own schools afford. If an individual were to ask a passport to carry his son to France, Switzerland, or England, to complete his education, it would be refused, and he would be asked, "Why should you send your son abroad to spend your money and imbibe false notions? Our schools and colleges are sufficient to teach all that a good subject needs to know."

The general effect of this form of government, then, is, that it is fitted to render happy all the humbler class of minds, those individuals who have neither desire nor talents to extend their efforts beyond the private sphere; but that it chains up, and thereby obstructs the enjoyment of the men of powerful intellect and high moral endowment, whose sphere of action is public life. The nobler the mind, the

more heavily does the leaden load of despotism weigh upon its powers. Farther, it imposes fetters on the general mind of the nation, and retards progression. The Government must move before the people are allowed to stir; and where all rational motives for progression are withdrawn from it, its advance must be slow, or if its pace be accidentally quickened by the genius of an individual sovereign, the effects of his liberality and energy are lost, because the people are not prepared to follow in the path which he opens to them.

The Government of Prussia was in much the same state as that of Austria, until it was overthrown by Napoleon in the war of 1807. After its restoration, however, it saw its error. Under the old regime, its subjects had been kept in such profound ignorance, and so thoroughly oppressed, that they possessed neither mental energy nor national feeling, and so fell an easy prey to the invading French. It became the interest of the Government to rouse its people from this lethargy, and to excite sentiments of patriotism. This was accomplished by making the serfs free, and instituting a system of universal and comparatively high education. The effects of the change were marvellous: In one generation Prussia stood forth a regenerated nation,—full of energy, activity, intelligence, and profound national feeling. But the form of the Government was little changed. It continues to be a despotism, but a more liberal and a much more enlightened despotism than that of Austria. The education which it provides for its

people is superior to that of any other country in Europe, and I believe superior to any which even you can boast of. The government is well administered. It regulates every thing, but it does it well. Its police and custom-house officers are civil gentlemanly men; its post-office department is regular and safe, but it opens letters without scruple when it wants political information; it keeps the stage-coaches, post-horses, and roads of the State in excellent condition, but it monopolizes them all. If, however, a single passenger more than the stage will carry present himself at the hour appointed for its starting, another vehicle is instantly provided for him. The laws are just, and impartially administered. Life and property are as safe as in any country in the world; industry is fostered; and learning and philosophy are patronized. In what, then, is the Prussian Government inferior to yours?

I have said that happiness is the result of the activity of all the faculties. The Prussian Government, while it does every thing *for* the people, and does it well, allows the people to do exceedingly little for themselves. It educates them, and elicits talent; but it allows that talent little scope in the social circle, except in its own service. It permits the towns to choose some of their municipal officers, but their number and powers are small. A few simple illustrations will enable you to judge of the restrictions which this Government imposes on the activity of the higher faculties of the mind. When I visited Prussia in 1837, one serious evil in their educational

system had begun to develope itself. The education of females under the national system has been so much inferior to that of the males, that a body of young women has grown up who are strikingly behind the men of the same generation in general intelligence and accomplishments. The consequence of this inequality in mental attainments is a diminution in that respect for women, which has long been a beautiful feature in the Prussian character. The cause of this evil was understood and regretted by many persons; but it was whispered in society, that the Government was more inclined to diminish the education of the men than to increase that of the women. "But," said I to a Prussian gentleman, "why do not your enlightened men themselves institute higher schools for females?" "You speak," said he, "like a Briton. Here nothing can be done without the Government. Should any private individuals attempt to establish improved academies for female education without the sanction of Government, they would speedily be stopped." The people are not allowed to meet for the discussion of public affairs. Missionary and other religious and benevolent societies exist, but their rules are first sanctioned by the Government, and then police spies are sent to their meetings to see that they do not transgress them. Again, the Government is so enlightened, that its censors of the press will permit the higher minds to publish works of a liberal cast, even on Government itself, provided they employ reason, and resort neither to ridicule nor inflamma-

tory declamation, in order to rouse the people to action; and provided also that the books appear in the form of octavo volumes of not less than 300 pages. They do not fear the philosophers of Berlin, and of a few other cities, who alone will read such works; but if any man were to move faster than the Government, and to propose plans of practical reform for which it was not prepared, it would immediately arrest his progress. In short, under this monarchy, as under the empire of Austria, self-action in regulating social interests is denied to the people, and the object of the Government is to draw into its own service all the energy, talent, and attainments of the nation, and to leave the mass the passive recipients of its impressions. It desires intelligence in the masses, because it needs mind and energy for its own defence against hostile nations; but it refuses to allow free scope to the mind and energy which it has evoked, lest they should subvert its own authority, and introduce self-government. Here, therefore, as in Austria, commonplace persons are happy; but the higher minds are cribbed and limited in their natural and best spheres of action, except when enlisted by the Government in its own service. As civilization must be measured chiefly by the intelligence, power of self-action and self-control of the masses, the Prussian Government, by denying the right of political action to the people, limits their advance in mental improvement. It, however, allows religious freedom; for men of all forms of faith are equally eligible to fill public offices.

Let us now advert briefly to the government of Great Britain and Ireland. That country has enjoyed political liberty for centuries, and claims to be the parent of your freedom. In Britain we enjoy the right to say and print what we please, in what form we see proper, and also to go where, and to do what, our own inclinations dictate, on the simple condition that, in pursuing our own gratifications, we shall not unjustly interfere with the rights of our neighbours. We may worship God, also, in any manner that appears to our own consciences to be most acceptable to the Divine Majesty. Life and property are secure, and the paths to wealth and honour are open to all. In Britain, then, it may be supposed that every faculty has as ample a scope for action as in the United States; but there are two bulwarks which arrest, or misdirect, the activity of the intellectual powers and higher sentiments of the people. The first of these is the hereditary peerage, invested with political power and special privileges. It maintains in possession of great legislative, moral, and political influence, a body of men who owe their superiority, not to personal attainments, but to birth alone. If man be a rational being, the objects of his reverence, and the standards by which he forms his manners and opinions, should possess the highest natural gifts, most assiduously and successfully cultivated. A hereditary peerage presents to the public mind of Great Britain and Ireland, standards which do not possess these attributes of natural and acquired superiority. It, therefore, obscures the moral perceptions of the

middle and lower ranks, by training them to pay that profound homage to high birth which is due alone to intelligence and virtue. By its influence it also misdirects the ambition of the aspiring minds in all the lower grades, and renders them more desirous to be admitted into its ranks, by any means, than to merit distinction for superior wisdom and morality. It is not open, as a matter of right, to all, but is to be attained by favour, with or without merit. It maintains a class so far removed from contact with, interest in, or dependence upon, the mass of the people, that it is little moved by their sufferings, and little disposed to elevate their moral and intellectual condition, or to do them justice in the exercise of its legislative powers. (See page 361–77.)

The hereditary peerage operates injuriously also on the lower and middle classes of society, by leading their active and ambitious members to turn away from their fellows whom they should protect and advance, and to adopt the interests and prejudices of the aristocracy, into whose ranks they aspire to gain admission.

The second obstacle to the free action of the mind in Britain is the existence of established churches. These have consecrated opinions formed, in the dawn of modern civilization, by theologians who partook much more of the character of monks and schoolmen than of that of philosophers or practical men of the world, and these opinions stand immovably enacted and ordained by Parliament as the legal guides to salvation, against which advancing reason and

science employ their demonstrations in vain. A vast priesthood, amply endowed to maintain these opinions, resist improvement as innovation, and denounce free inquiry as profanity and infidelity. The consequence is the reign of hypocrisy and the prostration of the religious sentiments by many individuals at the shrines of interest and ambition.

To avoid the charge of misrepresenting the state of Christianity in the British Isles, I present you with the following description of it given by the Reverend Baden Powell, Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford, in his work on "The Connection of Natural and Divine Truth," published in 1838.

"Too many nominal Christians entertain only the most miserable idea of the nature of the Gospel they profess to believe; their only notion too often consists in a confused general impression of a certain sacredness in Scripture, which produces little effect beyond that of making them afraid to enter its precincts, and search its recesses for themselves, and yet more fearful lest its sanctity should be invaded by others. And their dread of openly encountering any contradictions, and their anxious desire to shelter themselves under even the most frivolous explanations, if it does not betray a lurking distrust of the proper evidences of their faith, at least evinces the lowest and most unworthy conceptions of the spirit and meaning of the Bible, and an almost total absence of due distinction between the design and application of the several portions of which it is made up.

"With others again, the sincere, but (as we must consider it) misguided spirit of religious fanaticism, produces similar effects. 'Blinded to all but the internal light of his spiritual impressions, the enthusiast will always entertain a deeply-rooted and devoted hostility against any such distinctions as those here advocated. Maintaining the literal application of every sentence, every syllable of the divine Word, he rejects, as impious, the slightest departure from it. Human reason, along with all science, which is its offspring, is at best carnal and unsanctified; and should any of its conclusions be advanced in contradiction to the letter of a scriptural text, this completely seals its condemnation as absolutely sinful, and equivalent to a rejection of revelation altogether.

"In such cases we may most readily make every allowance due to sincerity, however mistaken. But there are other instances in which, unfortunately, little claim to such indulgence can be found. There are some who join most frequently in the cry against science, in general, and geology in particular, as dangerous to religion, *upon no sincere grounds of religious conviction.*

"Their adoption of a certain form of faith is dictated by motives of *expediency*, and the mere value of its practical effects on society. Not themselves recognising its claims as founded in *truth*, they uphold the established creed, as well as all received errors popularly engrafted upon it, as a convenient and effectual instrument for securing the influence of practical restraints on the multitude. Hence they con-

demn all inquiries which may come into collision with any portion of the popular belief; and against the agitation of any question which may shake established prejudices, or suggest any distinctions in the application of Scripture, there is an immediate and indiscriminate cry raised, that they unsettle men's minds, and are heretical doctrines of a most dangerous tendency, and such as will weaken and efface all sense of religious and moral obligation.

"But even among the best men and most sincere believers, there exists too often a sort of dread of meeting such questions in a strictly *honest* frame of mind. Those who have the most conscientious regard for truth in every thing else, seem to think it dispensed with in supporting the cause of religion; and while they earnestly condemn those who, in former ages, could justify the 'pious frauds' introduced in support of the received faith, are yet themselves influenced by the very same spirit, only in a different form, in dreading the dissemination of knowledge, if even imagined to be at variance with established religious belief. The one party seeking to support religion by the propagation of falsehood, the other by the suppression of truth, both agree in treating truth as if it were falsehood, and thus give its enemies the fairest ground to think it so." (Pp. 242–4.)

Fortified by this authority, I may venture to assert that legislative articles of faith and endowed churches trammel the wholesome activity of the superior faculties of the human mind; and thus far serve as impediments to the advancement of civilization.

I am far, however, from affirming that the hereditary peerage and Established Churches are felt by every British subject as obstacles to his enjoyment; or that hundreds of thousands of intelligent, good, and sincerely Christian men of all ranks are not reared under their sway. The Austrian government, civil and ecclesiastical, has moulded the opinions of the people into harmony with itself, and common minds in that country are happy under it, and desire no change. In Britain, also, the institutions of the State have communicated their own forms to opinion; and millions of British subjects admire and honour the hereditary peerage, while their souls rejoice under the wings of rectors, bishops, and archbishops. But it may nevertheless be true that the British institutions, like the Austrian, misdirect the minds even of those who are comparatively happy, and certainly contented, under them. The British clergy will recognise the truth of this proposition when applied to the Austrian people, and concede that their blind, although willing, subjection to Popery, is an obstacle to their advance in civilization; but they will probably deny that a blind, although voluntary, subjection to Calvinism, produces any injurious effects on the public mind. It appears to me, however, that in Britain, as in Austria, these institutions operate as weights repressing free mental action; and that the more upright, searching, and independent the moral sentiments and intellectual powers of any individual are, the more severely do they check his pursuit of happiness. I disavow, however, every desire to see them abrogated by force,

or prematurely abolished by a temporary and unenlightened excitement of public feeling:—reason and moral suasion are the only weapons by which they can be overthrown, without producing evils much greater than themselves.

Another form in which the Established Churches of Britain oppose civilization, is that of hostility to popular and liberal education. They profess to desire the education of the people, but demand the entire control of the means which the Government may devote to this object. This demand is not only unjust to the dissenters, whose contributions form important elements of the national wealth, but injurious to the whole community, because its avowed object is to obtain the right of fashioning the religious opinions of all future generations in the moulds of antiquity, which are already worn out; or, in other words, of exercising a spiritual tyranny over unborn multitudes of men. The authoritative declaration by Parliament of certain points of faith, as the only true expositions of the will of God, the offering of large endowments to those individuals who choose to embrace these interpretations, and visiting with obloquy, exclusion, and disqualification, those who doubt them, and especially the investing of these dogmas with the attribute of infallible truth, to so great an extent that every member of the church who publishes serious doubts of their soundness is liable to be expelled for heresy, and excluded from Christian privileges,—is at once to anchor theology,—to prevent it from advancing with increasing knowledge,—and to bind up the moral and intellectual

faculties of the best minds from all free, honest, and independent inquiry in this great department of human interests.

What, then, is the influence of the Democratic form of Government under which you live, on the activity of the mental faculties? The answer is obvious—you leave all the faculties free to find their own way to happiness as they best are able. You have no hereditary or artificial aristocracy to mould your opinions according to erroneous standards, nor to misdirect your ambition; you have no Established Church to chain up your moral and religious sentiments in the trammels of antiquated articles of belief; you have no self-constituted executive to take out of your hands the administration of your own affairs, and no Legislatures formed of privileged classes to restrain your industry by obnoxious laws, or to repress your mental energy by prescribing boundaries to your exertions. Your Government leaves all your faculties free, presents to them the highest and best fields for their exercise, and leaves every individual to reap the natural reward or punishment of his own conduct. If the first and most important condition of happiness be the activity of all the faculties, your Government complies with it in the most ample manner.

The institutions of the United States not only allow but encourage the activity of *all* the faculties. In your vast unoccupied territory, a fruitful soil presents its attractions to those individuals in whom Acquisitiveness and Ambition predominate. The

cultivators raise millions of bushels of grain from their lands, and rear on them innumerable herds of cattle, and offer these rich productions in exchange for articles of utility or luxury manufactured by your Atlantic cities, or imported by them from Europe. All over the wide expanse of your national domain, industry and enterprise are busy, and Acquisitiveness is stimulated by rich rewards. In your political institutions, Self-Esteem and Love of Approbation find unlimited scope. If the humblest citizen thirsts for power and distinction, there is no constitutional obstacle to his becoming President of the United States. The career of activity is equally open to your moral sentiments and intellectual faculties. Every citizen may not only profess whatever religious or philosophical creed seems best suited to his own mind, but he is at liberty to preach and teach that doctrine ; to found churches, schools, lyceums, colleges, and libraries in support of it, and to form associations for its propagation and defence. In short, there is no sphere of action of the human faculties, consistent with the common dictates of morality, that is not here encouraged. Nay, so extensive is your liberty, that it occasionally degenerates into licentiousness :—your citizens, in paroxysms of excitement occasionally, indulge their animal propensities in violence, outrage, and injustice, and the law is too feeble to protect the objects of their displeasure, or to punish those who have set it at defiance.

You perceive, then, the mighty difference between your institutions and those of despotic countries. But I call your attention to another principle.

Happiness consists in the free play of all our faculties within their legitimate spheres of action, and this kind of action can exist only when the animal propensities are subjected to the control of the moral sentiments and intellect, and where these latter powers are sufficiently enlightened to be capable of distinguishing between good and evil,—between the right course and the wrong,—in every department of individual, domestic, and social action. I earnestly press on your attention the great truth, that our affective faculties, both animal and moral, are in themselves blind impulses, and that they stand in need of constant guidance. There must be subordination, restraint, self-denial, the power of self-direction, in short, there must be *government*, and enlightened government, before happiness can be attained. We have seen that your institutions have done every thing to set your faculties free: But what have they done to guide them in the right path? So far as I can discover, the answer must be—too little.

In Europe a National Church professes to cultivate the sentiment of Veneration, and to teach morals and religion. Here you leave every man to embrace whatever religion is approved of by his conscience, or to cast off the restraints of religion at his pleasure. In Europe, artificial rank and hereditary titles profess to inculcate deference and subordination in the different departments of society. Here you have no distinction of ranks; and, while you encourage Self-Esteem and the Love of Approbation in their boldest flights, you have no artificial institutions,

either for restraining or directing them. In Europe, independent courts of justice, and a strong executive, direct or repress the animal propensities. Here, your executive is feeble; and when a general excitement seizes your people, your laws are as cobwebs in restraining the propensities. Your institutions have relied on one sole power to regulate all the faculties in their manifestations,—the power of public opinion. But what is public opinion? It is the outward expression of the particular group of faculties which may happen to predominate in activity in the majority of the people for the moment. It is the sum of the active impulses of many individual minds. In questions, however, of moral conduct, of religion, of political economy, of law, or even of common prudence, it is not the number of minds, but the degree of their intelligence and virtue, that gives value to their decisions; and I ask, what do your institutions do to communicate to the mind of each person who forms one of your majorities, that wisdom which alone fits him to act as a directing and controlling power over his own propensities and those of his fellow-men? I fear that we must again answer,—too little.

The idea seems to be entertained by some of your politicians, that propensity in one man will restrain propensity in another;—that sentiment in one will direct sentiment in another; in short, that out of the conflict of interest against interest, justice will be evolved, and that out of the conflict of reason with extravagance and error,—whether in religion, in mo-

rals, or in political action, wisdom and truth will be brought to light, and that the social body will at length grope its way to repose, prosperity, happiness, holiness, and virtue. If this result shall ultimately be reached by such a process of mental action, it can only be by the exhaustion of errors, and the endurance of countless miseries in the process.

Do not imagine, from these remarks, that I am the advocate of European despotisms, and the enemy of your institutions. Quite the reverse; but it is my object to point out to you, that, in providing an organized moral and physical machinery for regulating the propensities, and directing the sentiments of their subjects into what they consider to be their legitimate spheres of action, Monarchs act on a sound and philosophical principle. The propensities are energetic impulses, which must be restrained and guided by some power, external or internal, superior to themselves, otherwise they will deviate into wild abuses. In the European monarchies *external* restraints are chiefly resorted to; and these, too, unfortunately, are, in many instances, applied by ignorant and selfish men in such a manner as in some degree to crush intellect and stifle virtue, as well as to suppress vice. Although, therefore, you have done well in liberating all your faculties from thraldom to legislative churches, aristocracies, and despots; yet you cannot set them free from the laws of God, written not only in the Scriptures, but on your mental constitution, and on the external world. Some persons appear to conceive liberty to consist in the privilege of unlimited exercise

of the animal propensities. The head of Liberty stamped on the earlier medals, commemorative of the French Revolution, is the very personification of this idea. She is a female figure with a villainously small, low, and retreating forehead, deficient moral organs, and ample development of the base and posterior regions of the brain, devoted to the propensities. Her hair is flying back in loose disorder, and her countenance expresses vivacity and passion, but neither morality nor wisdom. The same figure appears on the earlier coins of the United States. Liberty, as I should draw her, would possess large moral and intellectual organs, with moderate propensities. I should arrange her hair in simple elegance, and imprint serene enjoyment, benignity, and wisdom on her brow. She should represent moral liberty, or the unlimited freedom to accomplish all that is good, and the absence of every desire to do evil. Such alone is the liberty after which you should aspire.

I desire, then, to see in this country a moral and intellectual machinery put into vigorous action, calculated to teach the young the legitimate spheres in which all their faculties should act, and to *train* them to impose that restraint upon themselves, to practise that self-denial, and that self-direction, which are indispensable to happiness and prosperity. I desire to see public opinion, which is here your great restraining power, composed, not of the sum of the ruling prejudices, passions, or interests of the day, but of the concentrated wisdom and virtue of millions of trained and enlightened minds. Such a public opi-

nion I should regard as the best and safest of all governing powers. An ignorant public opinion is, to the wise and good, a revolting tyranny. In this country you have chosen public opinion for your chief regulating influence, and it is impossible for you to substitute for it any other. You have established universal suffrage, placed supreme authority in the hands of your majorities, and no human means, short of military conquest, can deprive that majority of its sway. You have, therefore, only one mode of action left to reach the goal of national happiness: enlighten your people, teach them whatever is necessary for them, in order to guide their faculties aright,—*train* them to self-control,—*train* them in youth to bend all the inferior feelings under the yoke of morality, religion, and reason. In short, educate them—and educate them well.

Most of you will probably acknowledge the advantages of education, point to your common schools, to the large sums appropriated by the States for public instruction, and ask what more can any reasonable man desire? With every feeling of deference towards your learned men and divines, I would answer that you stand in need of a philosophy of mind capable of guiding your steps in your efforts to bestow education on your people. Many will say,—Is not common sense sufficient to enable us to manage with success both our political and educational institutions? I repeat the observation of Archbishop Whately, that men never acknowledge the sufficiency of mere common sense to the accomplishment of any im-

portant undertaking when they fully understand its nature and the difficulties that must be surmounted to ensure success. A blacksmith will probably assure you, that common sense is sufficient to enable you to farm, if he knows nothing about farming; but if you ask him whether common sense will enable you to shoe a horse, he will unhesitatingly answer, that if you try the experiment, you will probably get your brains kicked out for your rashness and presumption. Do you imagine, then, that the successful direction of the affairs of a great nation, and the training of the human mind, demand less of scientific skill and experience than shoeing horses?

But allow me to ask, what do you understand by common sense, which is supposed to be such an all-sufficient guide in the United States? What is called common sense means the notions which have entered the mind of any individual, from such occurrences and sources of information as he happens to have enjoyed. Men's capacities differ, their opportunities of observation differ, and hence their common sense differs. The individual who professes to have no theory, no hypothesis, no system, but to follow plain common sense, has a theory: it is that formed by his innate capacity, aided by his own individual experience.

In some of your academies, the talent for English composition is supposed to be the most valuable attainment that can be communicated to the young; in others arithmetic and mathematics are regarded as the best studies for developing all the faculties; while one female teacher assured me, in all seriousness,

that the human mind is a blank, that all minds are alike in their native capacities, and that she can evoke whatever talents and dispositions she pleases. This is her theory, and she has practised on it for many years! You must have observed how the practices of teachers differ; you cannot suppose that each adopts his own method without some reasons for preferring it;—these reasons, however limited and lame, constitute his theory. In point of fact, they all have theories, and the vast differences in their notions prove that nature is not the author of them; because she is always consistent with herself, and gives one response to all. When we have studied nature we agree. Hence, the great principles of astronomy, chemistry, physiology, and of other branches of natural science, are no longer in dispute. But on the subjects of morals, religion, and education, the diversity and conflict of opinion are boundless. Does not this indicate that our notions on these subjects do not yet rest on a scientific basis? in short, that we enjoy no sound and practical philosophy of mind?

To you this state of mental science is an evil of the greatest magnitude. In this country you need not only education, but an education that shall communicate to youth the knowledge, maxims, and experience of age. Here you commit political power to the hands of nearly every man who has attained majority. Your population doubles every twenty-three or twenty-five years. The actual majority of your voters is probably under thirty-five or thirty-six years of age. There is no other country in the

world which is ruled by men so young and so inexperienced. I was told before I came here, that the Americans are the most excitable nation on the globe; that you take fire in a moment, and instantly rush to action, whether it be in speculation, in legitimate enterprise, in war, or in political change; and since my stay among you, I have heard the deep-toned war-cry uttered with a force and unanimity which is full of fearful omen. And the cause of this may be discerned. The mind, till thirty-five, acts more under the impulse of the feelings than under the guidance of intellect. By the very laws of our nature, Combativeness, Destructiveness, Self-Esteem, Love of Approbation, and Acquisitiveness, are then more energetic than they are at fifty or sixty; and at that period also experience is most deficient. Life has not been long enough to enable us to accumulate wisdom, to detect the illusions of passion or of vain glory,—to supply the deficiencies and correct the errors of an imperfect education.

In your country, then, above all others, your school education should teach your youth the specific knowledge of the constitution and powers of physical nature, and the means by which they may be applied to the promotion of human happiness,—of the constitution of the body, and the laws of health,—of the constitution of the mind, and the means by which we may be best trained to the discharge of our duties in the private, domestic, and social circles,—of the laws by which wealth is created and distributed; and of the influence of morals and legislation on

the welfare of the individual and society. As you do not wait until your voters, who wield the destinies of your country—who make peace and war —who make and unmake banks—who make and unmake tariffs affecting industry to the core—and who make and unmake even your schools, colleges, and churches,—I say, as you do not wait until age has given them wisdom and experience, but place the helm, at once, in their hands, and allow them to act, while they are still full of young blood, and all the energy, confidence, and rashness that attend it,—you are called on by every consideration to perfect your schools, so as to communicate to them the dictates of a wisdom which cannot be dispensed with, and which will not otherwise be attained.

In the election which took place in November 1839, the question of the currency was actually brought to the polls in the State of New York. The mottos were —banks and paper currency on the one side—hard specie and sub-treasury laws on the other. These are questions on which Dr Adam Smith, Ricardo, M'Culloch, and the profoundest political economists, have differed in opinion. Does your education enable your people to understand them, and decide on them? No! Yet your people *act* whether they understand them or not. They vote the supporters of paper into power; and paper flourishes. If evil ensue, they vote the advocates of specie into power; and paper and credit go to the wall. They try the experiment. But what an awful experiment! How many thousands of individuals and families are ruined by the violence of every change!

In Austria and Prussia the safety-valve of the body politic is loaded with the weight of an established church and 100,000 bayonets. In cases of discontent, opinion cannot escape, until it has burst through these compressing powers, and then it explodes with terrific violence. Here the safety-valve bears no load except the sense of each individual mind. Any strong internal excitement, or the application of external provocation, causes the propensities and sentiments to glow, and to express themselves with instantaneous energy. Their voice is heard in Europe, and the timid hold their breath, waiting for a grand explosion. Perhaps it never comes. In your country, ten times ten thousand valves let off excited opinion so rapidly that the body-politic cools down to its natural heat, as quickly as its temperature was raised. But every one of these excitements shakes credit, deranges trade, ruins fortunes, is attended by suffering, and leaves many pangs behind. Load, then, your safety-valves with knowledge of nature and religion, and train your young minds to control passion by virtue, and you will find these means more effectual than millions of armed soldiers, to insure your prosperity and happiness. Mr Wyse, in his work entitled "Education Reform," says, "A period of total quiet resulting from a long continued acquiescence in old institutions, leaves a very different imprint upon the national mind from that which is the necessary consequence of a general breaking up of old principles and forms, and an earnest search after new. In the first instance, an education of stimulants becomes necessary. It is essential to the

healthy activity of the body-politic. In the second, steadiness, love of order, mutual toleration, the sacrifice of private resentments and factious interests to general good, should be the great lessons of national education." Vol. i. p. 48. Such, assuredly, should be the education of your sons.

Yours is a noble destiny. Providence has assigned to you the duty of proving by experiment, whether man be, or be not, a rational and moral being, capable of working out his own way to virtue and enjoyment, under the guidance of Reason and Scripture, unfettered by despotic power, and unchained by law-enacted creeds. Your institutions and physical condition call all your faculties into vivid action. Among these, the animal propensities, as I have remarked, are not dormant; but those observers err, who allow their attention to be arrested only, or chiefly, by the abuses of the propensities which appear in your people. Virtue consists in meeting and overcoming temptation. As you, then, by possessing freedom are tempted above other nations, you will shew a virtue above them all, if you nobly resist every seducing influence, and march boldly onward in the paths of rectitude and wisdom. The subjects of a despot, whose every thought and action are ruled by other minds, have little merit in exhibiting order and decorum in their public conduct. You will prove the true strength of your moral principles, when you restrain your passions by your own virtuous resolves, and obey just laws enacted by yourselves. It is to aid you in this admirable course of action, in so far as the feeble abilities of

one individual will go, that I now address to you these observations. And I again ask, Do your schools teach all that your young voters should know? all that the best of your citizens would wish them to know, when they act as electors and arbitrators of the public welfare?—I believe not. If you ask how they can be improved, you will be answered by as many projects and proposals for education, as if you had inquired for the philosopher's stone.

So far from education supplying this knowledge, it appears to me, that a vast proportion of your people have not yet obtained a glimpse of what, I hope, is destined to constitute the real greatness and glory of your country. I find here, the ambition of many individuals directed towards raising the United States to the rank of the richest and the most powerful nation in the world. They bend their whole minds to the increase of her commercial, agricultural, naval, and military grandeur. This is not wrong; but it is not *all.* Thousands of your young men pant for war, in order to wreath the laurels of victory round the brow of their native country; and they call this patriotism. I desire to see higher and better views entertained of the glories and destiny of the United States. History presents only the records of wars, devastations, and selfish aggrandizement pursued by all governments that have ever existed;—republics, oligarchies, monarchies,—all have run one wild career of immorality and ambition. If your nation consider herself to have no higher vocation than these, she ceases to be an object of moral interest to

the philanthropist and philosopher. If her annals be destined to record the contests only of faction against faction, of party against party, or of the nation against foreign nations,—the friend of human improvement must turn from her in despair. The grand duty assigned to Americans is to raise up and exhibit to the world, a nation great in virtue; to shew, for the first time, since history began, a people universally educated; a people prosperous, refined, happy, and gigantically great, by the realization in their institutions, in their private lives, and in their public actions, of the principles of Christianity.

The founders of your constitution, when they established universal suffrage, assumed it as a fundamental principle, that man is a moral, religious, and intellectual being; and that, if thoroughly instructed and left to direct his course by the truths of Scripture and the dictates of reason, he will found and maintain institutions calculated to promote virtue, religion, and universal peace, with all the physical enjoyments and mental gratifications which attend them. Phrenology confirms this opinion, by unfolding to us the great facts that we possess moral and intellectual faculties invested with authority to rule over and direct the animal propensities; and that these propensities themselves have all a legitimate sphere of action. When the founders of your institutions threw unlimited power into the hands of the people, they assumed it as a fundamental principle, that the people are capable of being trained and instructed; and that, when so trained, their desires will be towards that which is

good, holy, useful, and just; and Phrenology is the only philosophy, with which I am acquainted, which warrants and sustains this assumption. The despotisms and the established churches of Europe, are founded, and defended, on a principle directly the reverse of this, viz. that the mass of mankind are so selfish, so ignorant, and so prone to prefer an immediate individual gratification to the general advantage—that the people cannot be trusted with knowledge and power—that it is Utopian to imagine that the masses may be rendered capable of applying self-restraint, and of reaching virtue and happiness by the spontaneous action of their own minds; but that they must be ruled, like children, by the more enlightened members of society, and chastised when they infringe the laws enacted by their superiors for their guidance. These two sets of principles are subjects of constant debate between the liberal and despotic parties in Europe; and both, with the deepest interest, look to you to solve the problem on which they differ. All your aberrations from the dictates of morality; the "colonizing" and false swearing at your elections (see vol. ii. p. 242); the practice of betting on elections; your mobs, your Lynch laws, your wild speculations, your bank suspensions, with the injustice to so many of yourselves which accompany them; your Negro slavery; your treatment of the Indians (vol. ii. p. 350); the incessant abuse which the one of your political parties heaps on the distinguished men of the other; the elopements of persons placed in situations of trust with the funds of the nation, or of their constituents; the excessive number

of bankruptcies; the very imperfect police for the prevention of crime which characterizes some of your great towns, such as New York; the enormous and calamitous conflagrations which scourge your cities, the results either of recklessness or incendiarism; the great self-complacency of the mass of your people, who, although very imperfectly educated, are persuaded by political orators that they know every thing, and can decide wisely on every question; the general absence of reverence for authority or superior wisdom, displayed first in childhood, and afterwards in the general progress of life; the regardlessness of the obligations of contracts and agreements that occur in trade, commerce, and personal service;—all these, and every other fault and imperfection, real or imaginary, which can be ascribed to you with any shadow of plausibility, are carefully collected, blazoned, and recorded in Europe,—not to *your* disparagement alone, but to the degradation of human nature, and to the unspeakable injury of the cause of liberty all over the civilized world.

And I ask,—What have you to oppose to these charges? Generally your press hurls back accusations of crimes and follies as bad or worse, as fairly chargeable against European governments and nations. But admitting this to be true, the philanthropist, using a common phrase, replies that two blacks do not make a white, and that this forms no legitimate defence for your imperfections. You have proclaimed the supremacy of man's moral and intellectual nature over his animal feelings, and adopted this principle as the basis of your social fabric, and of your hopes. In

the old despotisms of Europe, the very opposite principle is avowed. It is assumed by the rulers of these nations, that if man be free, he will only do evil continually. You profess to impose the restraints of religion and morality on yourselves; they impose the restraints of armed force on their people, to lead them to order and obedience. If you, therefore, realize only a social condition no worse than those which are founded on the opposite principle, the friends of liberty feel that their cause is lost. You are bound to exhibit a *higher* intelligence, a *purer* morality, a *deeper* reverence for all that is great, good, and holy;—a more rational prudence, a juster estimate of the real value of physical wealth, a greater abhorrence of war and all forms of injustice, and a higher interest in every pursuit that tends to elevate man's moral, religious, and intellectual nature,—than are to be found in countries in which the activity of the higher faculties is suppressed by force, or misled by ignorance or fraud;—in short, you are bound to impose an enlightened self-restraint on all your faculties; and if you do not do so, you betray the great cause of freedom which Providence has entrusted to your care.

And I ask,—Are your schools, your literature, your daily maxims and pursuits, and the spirit which animates the masses of your people, steadily, systematically, and successfully directed towards the attainment of these high and honourable objects? are they adequate to the formation of a public opinion under which a virtuous and enlightened mind may live in peace, and rejoice, and with which it can cordially

co-operate? When I converse with your wisest citizens, many of them concede that such should be the objects of your institutions, manners, and pursuits; and they labour to reach them; but they often lament the vast interval which lies between these great conceptions and their accomplishment. The enlightened philanthropists of this country desire to see commenced in earnest a system of training and instruction which shall be really capable of preparing the young republican for the discharge of the highest duties which a rational being can be called on to execute, in a manner and in a spirit becoming their grandeur, dignity, and utility; but they experience extraordinary difficulties, arising from the ignorance and the power of the people, in realizing their aspirations. Many who now hear me, and who participate in these desires, will confirm what I say. I was invited to come to this country by some philanthropists, who believed that this philosophy would aid your people, in discovering, at once, their own need of better instruction and the means of obtaining it. Phrenology lays open, even to the most ordinary mind, an intelligible view of the human faculties; it carries home a striking conviction of the indispensable necessity of education to their improvement and direction, and presents tangible principles for administering this instruction.* I have long been an admirer of your institutions, and an advocate of man's capability of raising his moral, re-

* The reader is respectfully reminded that this address was delivered at the close of a full course of lectures on Phrenology, and that it was not necessary to describe to my audience what Phrenology is.

ligious, and intellectual powers to supremacy over his animal propensities; and I obeyed the call which was sent to me. Far from disapproving of your institutions, I admire them, and have confidence in them; but it is my duty to express my conviction, that your people need a vastly improved education to render them equal to the faithful and successful discharge of the important duties committed to them by the institutions of the States and of the Federal Government, and to form a public opinion adequate to the due performance of the high duties assigned to this power.

In the preceding lectures I have already explained my views of education, and left them to your judgment. I am far from pressing them on your attention as infallible; I only submit them in all humility to your consideration; "prove (or try) all things, and hold fast that which is good." If you know a sounder and more practical philosophy of mind than that which I have expounded, adopt it, and carry its principles into practice. All that I mean to maintain, without limit and qualification, is, that, in the United States, the moral and intellectual condition of the people must be raised far above its present standard, or your institutions will perish. If you agree with me in regard to the end, you are the proper judges of the means.

You are engaged in trying many momentous experiments in regard to the nature and capabilities of man; and you are now also in the act of evolving the true nature and power of Christianity. You leave reason and Scripture, science and theological doc-

trines, to adjust their several claims to acceptance, and to work out a harmony among themselves. Though your wide extended country be over-run by contending sects, still fear not for religion. If Austria boast of almost unanimity in her faith, it is not because she has found infallible truth, but because she has extinguished in her people the desire and the capacity of independent thinking on religious doctrines. Your numerous sects prove to my mind one great truth, that Christianity is not yet fully understood; that in past ages, the Scriptures have been interpreted, too often without knowledge of the philosophy of mind, and without regard to the dictates of reason and of science. In Britain many persons suffer under feelings of insecurity about religion. They seem to regard it as a pyramid resting on its apex; Bishops and Archbishops may be pictured on one side; rectors and endowed clergy on another; the Lords and Commons on a third; and many excellent laymen on the fourth; all straining themselves to preserve it erect, each, apparently, believing that if he were to withdraw his support, it would fall and break into a thousand fragments. Professor Powell, in the work already quoted, ably describes the mental condition of these apprehensive Christians. "Adopting their creed," says he, "blindly from education, custom, or party, too many hold their religion only by a most loose and uncertain tenure, and are lamentably confused in their notions of its nature. Hence they dread a formidable shock to Christianity in every physical discovery; and in the obscurity which surrounds them, imagine danger to the truth in every

exposure of error. Insensible to the real strength of their position, they live in groundless alarm for its security; and accustomed to cherish faith in ignorance, they apprehend, in every advance of knowledge, the approach of the enemy of their salvation." But when we discover by means of Phrenology, that religion springs from the innate faculties of Veneration, Hope, and Wonder, we perceive that it can never be shaken. The churches, creeds, emblems, and ceremonies, which many individuals mistake for religion, are really its effects. They are the outward symbols by which the innate religious sentiments manifest their desires, and seek for gratification. They are no more the causes of religion, than clarionets and violins are the causes of that love of melody which exists in the human mind, and which prompts the intellect to produce them for its gratification. I request of you, then, clearly to distinguish between the sentiment of religion,—which is inherent in the human mind;—and its outward symbols,—which may assume various forms at different times and in different countries, yet religion itself be not for one moment in danger. The founders of your institutions have acted on this view; and in your country they have placed the pyramid of religion at once on its basis. Here, it is seen standing in all its native solidity, simplicity, and beauty, without needing the aid of human power to preserve it in its place.

In the same spirit, you have trusted the preservation of the purity of the Bible to the moral and religious principles, and the interest, of your printers and publishers. You have conferred no patent mo-

nopolies on individuals, and established no boards, with well paid secretaries, to superintend the printing of the Scriptures; yet in your country the text is as pure as it is in Britain. You have learned by experience that an edition in which errors are detected, becomes, by the unanimous verdict of your community, mere waste paper in the hands of those who have produced it, and that this operates as a most efficacious check against corruption.

The attention of the Christian world has lately been called to a singular fact, which is instructive, and I think encouraging to you: It is this—that Protestantism has made little progress in extending itself in Europe, since the "end of the thirty years' war, and that the expansive power," which we believe all truth to possess, has not been manifested by it since that epoch. "It is surely remarkable," says a recent critic, "that neither the moral revolution of the eighteenth century, nor the moral counter-revolution of the nineteenth, should, in any perceptible degree, have added to the domain of Protestantism. During the former period, whatever was lost to Catholicism was lost also to Christianity; during the latter, whatever was regained by Christianity in Catholic countries was regained also by Catholicism."* One cause of this phenomenon appears to me to be, that the Protestant Kingdoms of Europe, in general, have imitated the Roman Catholics so closely, that

* *The Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Popes of Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by Leopold Ranke, Professor in the University of Berlin. Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxxii. p. 258.

they have in many respects instituted Popish Churches under a different name. The Reformation proclaimed freedom of religious opinion; but the Protestant monarchies enacted creeds and endowed churches to maintain them. They stifled opinion, and bound up the human mind in the fetters of authority;—and how could Protestantism, in other words, religious freedom, prosper or expand itself in such circumstances? You, almost alone, have done justice to Protestantism, you have given it a fair field; and if in your country, Popery shall not ultimately yield to it, Popery must contain the greater extent of truth.

In attending the places of religious worship of several of your sects, I have received a profound impression of the vivacity of the religious sentiments among you. I, therefore, consider religion in this country as in the most prosperous condition. Honest and earnest zeal for the glory of God and the welfare of human souls, evinces itself in innumerable forms: It is true that I perceive a great diversity of doctrines (a statement of which will be found in the Appendix, No. XII.); but this fact leads me simply to the conclusion that much yet remains to be done before the true interpretation of Scripture shall be completed; and that many improvements remain to be introduced into Christian theology, before it shall stand side by side with reason and science, and exhibit all the symmetry and beauty of a harmonious compartment in the great temple of universal truth. Far from regarding the diversity of your sects as an evil, I view it as an unspeakable advantage. The

existence of wide diversity in the opinions of Christian sects is to me irrefragable evidence that error is not yet fully expurgated from popular Christianity.

How, then, is the religion of Jesus to be purified? Not by adopting one form of its corruption and declaring it, by statute, to be truth. This has been tried, and has failed. Not by the recondite studies and commentaries of cloistered monks, or state-endowed and state-chained divines; for what human research and learning could accomplish has been achieved by them already: The doctrines, generally known under the name of Puseyism, afford a specimen of the improvements in Christianity which learned priests, even in the nineteenth century, propose when left to follow the dictates of their own judgment. Christian theology is not destined to advance by such aids as these. The conflicts of your sects will do more for its improvement than has been accomplished by all the commentators who have laboured in the field since the Reformation.

One palpable advantage of a number of religious sects, all equal in the eye of the law, is, that their clergy discuss each other's interpretations of Scripture and the doctrines founded on them, with a degree of fearlessness, energy, and effect, which rarely characterizes the efforts of laymen in the same field. Each sect brings the doctrines of its opponents to the touchstone of reason, although some of them shrink from applying reason to their own. In a discussion on points of Scriptural doctrine, between laymen and religious teachers, the latter are prone to charge the fromer with infidelity, as the short answer to all ob-

jections; and the religious world too often makes common cause with the teachers, in giving effect to the accusation. But when the clergy of one sect contend with those of another, their religious characters protect them against this brief method of dealing with their arguments, and the subject must be treated on its merits. By this means, truth is advanced, and theology and reason are brought more and more into harmony. If a layman, for instance, had attacked the Calvinistic doctrine of Election, he would probably have been at once denounced as an infidel. But when the Rev. John Wesley, himself a high authority in religion, in commenting on the Rev. James Hervey's advocacy of this doctrine in his "Theron and Aspasia," says, "But what becomes of other people? (that is, besides the Elect), they must inevitably perish for ever? The die was cast ere even they were in being. The doctrine to pass them by, has

> 'Consigned their unborn souls to hell,
> And damned them from their mother's womb.'

I could sooner be a Turk, a Deist,—yea, an Atheist, than I could believe this; it is less absurd to deny the very being of God, than to make him an Almighty tyrant;"—when a religious man writes thus, he must be answered in reason, and in Scripture reconcilable with reason.

Again, when the Church of Scotland, claiming Christ as its only head, asserted, that in contending for its own power and privileges with the supreme civil court of the country, it was only defending the "Redeemer's crown rights," any layman who

should have stigmatized this as an act of unwarrantable and irreverend assumption, would probably have been accused of infidelity; and the religious portion of the community would have given effect to the charge; but when the Rev. And. Marshall of Kirkintulloch, a speaker at a great meeting of Evangelical Dissenters, held in Edinburgh on the 16th December 1840, used the following words, the religious public could not treat them thus, but must have pondered them well and answered them in reason. The system of non-intrusion, said he, is "an attempt to set up an institution (the Church of Scotland) in the name of Christ which Christ never sanctioned,—an institution breathing a spirit and clothed with a character which the religion of Christ utterly disowns,—an institution calling itself national, and claiming a large portion of the national property,—an institution claiming a right to dispose of the national property, the national honours, and the national emoluments; yet at the same time refusing to be controlled by the national authority, and setting at defiance all laws but its own. Is this a Christian institution? Is this an institution to be tolerated in any free State? Yet, such is the institution which the non-intrusionists are trying to set up, and of this institution they say that Christ is the head. I deny the assertion. I consider it an assertion bordering upon blasphemy; as an assertion throwing a stain, a foul and injurious stain, upon the great name by which we are called. The head of the Church of Scotland! Christ is the head of his own mystical body; the foundation and chief corner-stone of that spiritual

living temple which is composed of all Christian men in all parts of the world; but I have yet to learn that the Church of Scotland, either as it has existed hitherto, or as it would exist, provided the non-intrusionists had their will,—I say, I have yet to learn that the Church of Scotland and this living temple are one and the same thing. I grant, indeed, that there is a sense in which Christ may be said to be the head of the Church of Scotland; but that is just as he is the head of the Church of England, just as he is the head of the Church of Rome; and just as he is the head of any other existing society, or any other portion of human beings,—as the head, for instance, of the British empire, or the empire of the Chinese. I will grant that there is a sense in which Christ orders the concerns of the Church of Scotland, and in which he superintends all their affairs, great and small; but that is exactly as he superintends the affairs of the French, or the affairs of their friend Mehemet Ali." Such arguments as these, proceeding from religious men and directed against the doctrines of religious men, open up the understandings of the people, and give them courage to think; and by them theology is advanced.

Fear not evil, then, from the multitude and conflicts of your sects.

Many of them reject the authority of reason when applied to themselves, but they all use it to expose and refute the errors of their opponents; and by this constant appeal to reason, I anticipate the ultimate purification of Christian doctrine, and the increasing approximation of all sects towards unanimity. There

is one God, and one truth, and no interpretations of Scripture can be sound, or secure of universal acceptance and permanent existence, which contradict reason or clash with natural science. Scripture may legitimately go beyond what reason can reach, as in teaching the resurrection of the dead, but no sound interpretations of it can evolve doctrines that distinctly contradict natural truth. The process of improvement appears to me to be evidently begun. A large portion of your Presbyterian Church has dropt some of the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism (vol. ii. p. 165), and even Yale College (vol. iii. p. 118) has modified the ancient views of original sin. These are steps, however small, by which the professors of Calvinism are approaching towards the opinions of those who adopt Universalism and Unitarianism. Be not alarmed; it is not my intention to express an opinion in favour of the superiority of any sect; this does not become a stranger, and one whose element is philosophy; but as a philosophical observer, I beg leave to state my conviction that the progress which Christianity is destined to make in your country, is one of approximation to unity in belief; that, in proportion as the knowledge of mental philosophy and physical science is extended among your people, your sects will drop one doctrine after another, as it is discovered to clash with reason and natural truth, and that they will elicit purer, and sounder, and more practically useful doctrines in their place; until truth, commanding unanimity, shall stand forth before an admiring world. This must be

the ultimate effect of free discussion, if man be really a rational and moral being; and, however distant the prospect, it is still discernible by the eye of reason and of faith.

If such be the probable result to which your religious discussions will lead, Phrenology will serve as a beacon-light to guide you on your way. The starting point of innumerable religious differences lies in different views entertained in regard to the nature of man: Phrenology will settle this point beyond the possibility of controversy. While every individual takes his own consciousness and observations as the standards by which he measures human dispositions and capacities, metaphysical divines may assign or deny to the human mind whatever moral and intellectual qualities best suit their several religious opinions; but when the faculties are studied in connection with organs, this becomes impossible. Organs are visible and tangible, and owe their existence directly to God. The mental qualities, therefore, attached to them, are all equally the direct gifts of the Creator; and be they what they may, they are His workmanship. Hitherto, Scripture has generally been interpreted without the knowledge of the organs and of their influence on the mental manifestations; and it appears to me that, when this knowledge becomes general, many popular interpretations will not bear investigation. Again, Phrenology shews us that, to improve the human mind, we must begin by improving the condition of the brain; and that, to attain success in this object, all moral, religious, and

intellectual teaching must be conducted in harmony with the laws of physiology. While, however, it foretells of changes in the interpretations of Scripture, and in religious opinions, it affords us a guarantee for the safety, the permanence, and the ever-extending power of religion itself, sufficient to assure the most timid. It brings before our eyes, organs specially destined to the manifestations of religious sentiments. It thereby shews us that religion itself is inherent in our nature, and that it is as enduring as the race. It enables us to compare our mental nature, such as God has constituted it, with the precepts of Jesus, and shews us the most admirable harmony between them. It forcibly demonstrates that great differences exist in the relative strength of the faculties in different individuals, and leads us to infer that many of our religious differences are referable to this cause; each of us being impressed most forcibly by those texts of Scripture which speak most strongly to his own predominant faculties. While, therefore, it foretells the dissolution of many dogmatical opinions, which at present put enmity and strife between Christian sects, it presents the strongest confirmation of the great truths about which all are agreed, and gives, if possible, an enlarged prominence and importance to the influence which, when freed from heterogeneous errors, these are destined to exercise over human civilization.*

One great obstacle to your moral, religious, and

* I have discussed this topic more fully in my lectures on Moral Philosophy, to which I beg leave to refer.

intellectual progress appears to me to be the influence which the history, institutions, manners, habits, and opinions of Europe are still exercising over the minds of your people. Study these in order to imbibe their wisdom and to adopt their refinement; but avoid the errors which they exhibit, and shun them as guides in your religious and political progress. Society is in a state of transition, and old things are passing away. I have endeavoured to point out to you, that your institutions, and those of the governments and churches of Europe, rest on widely different views of human nature and its capabilities. A religious creed, founded on the opinion that man is "wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body," may be adapted to a monarchy, which, acting in the spirit of this dogma, denies political power to its millions, and supports religion by statutes, enforcing these, if necessary, by bayonets; but it may be very unsuitable to you, whose whole social arrangements rest on the assumption that man is by nature a religious, moral, and intellectual being. When, however, your sects, in the exercise of freedom, renounce that opinion, and embrace views of man's nature more in accordance with your social institutions, the chained clergy of Europe may accuse them of heretical errors. But do not allow yourselves to be shaken by their disapproval. If you are right, they are in the wrong; and they are not willing to decide against themselves. Every religious community whose faith has been anchored by the edicts of popes, emperors, kings, or parliaments, will represent your departures from their

standards as backslidings and pernicious errors, and the conflicts of your sects as the harbingers of the extinction of religion. But fear not. Before your religion can become capable of exercising a powerful, and a much-needed influence, over the public conduct of your people, it must be brought into harmony with the principles of your social institutions; and as you have laid aside European forms of government, it is to be expected that you may depart from European standards of faith. After a long night of troubled controversy, a brighter dawn will rise on your religious world; Truth is omnipotent, and free discussion is her glorious arena. She will come forth triumphant; and you will ultimately exhibit Christianity in her purity and might, acknowledging Science as her brother and Learning as her sister, mingling harmoniously and gracefully with this world's interests, and guiding your people securely in the paths of virtue and peace.

The influence of the American citizen reaches to all the interests of his country; and I have already endeavoured to point out to you how Phrenology may aid you in the discharge of your important duties. Assuming it to be the philosophy of mind founded on the physiology of the brain, it will furnish valuable lights to your understandings when you act,—

As jurymen, and decide on questions of insanity, involving the most important private rights and responsibility to the criminal law;—

As directors of common schools, and superintendants of education;—

As visitors and inspectors of houses of refuge and of prisons;—

As visitors and inspectors of lunatic asylums; and

As electors of legislators, governors, and a vast variety of public officers. Allow me to remark, that, as the whole fabric of your institutions rests on a moral basis, and is devoid of artificial supports, you, of all nations, stand most in need of high moral and intellectual qualities in your public men. It is too obvious that you do not yet possess adequate means of discriminating and selecting individuals possessed of these qualities; for in no country which I have visited, has such an array of delinquencies, committed by men in confidential public situations, been exhibited, as has met my eye since I came to the United States. Many of you will smile when I express my opinion that Phrenology is calculated greatly to aid you in avoiding this monstrous evil. I have stated to you that the native power of manifesting every mental faculty bears a reference, other conditions being equal, to the size of its organs; and that the magnitude of the organs may be estimated. If you wish, therefore, that your public administrators should be vigorous and active, choose men with high temperaments, large brains, and large lungs. If you desire that they should possess native integrity, choose men with predominant organs of Conscientiousness. If you desire that they should possess native benevolence and piety, select individuals in whom the organs of these sentiments are largely developed. If you desire that they should be distinguished for in-

tellectual superiority, select persons with large anterior lobes of the brain. If you desire to avoid committing your destinies to men of great animal vigour, but deficient moral and intellectual qualities, shun individuals whose heads are developed chiefly in the basilar region.

In the preceding lectures you have seen the skulls of different nations, and compared their forms with the mental characteristics of the races;—you have seen the capacious forehead and ample coronal region in the busts of your own distinguished Franklin, and you know well his admirable sagacity and unspotted integrity;—you have examined the narrow, although in the organs of observation and illustration, prominent forehead, and deficient moral region of the English Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and you appreciate the shallow brilliancy and imperfect morality by which he was characterized;—you have compared the ample forehead of Napoleon with the moderate anterior lobe of his distinguished antagonist William Pitt, and marked the capacious depth of intellect indicated by the one, and the superficial perspicacity by the other:—I need not recapitulate the numerous illustrations to which your attention has been directed; but I beg once more to repeat, that these are not specimens of man's invention. The forms and dimensions are unquestionably the workmanship of God, and if they are significant of mental qualities, it is His wisdom which has invested them with meaning, which you cannot despise or neglect and prosper.

I have explained to you, however, that the size of the organs indicates only the presence of *native* mental power. If size and temperament be deficient, I know of no earthly means by which high capacity can be conferred; but these may be possessed without being cultivated. Phrenology affords no key to the extent of cultivation; but this may be ascertained from other sources. What I desire, therefore, to say is, that if you select men with favourable temperaments, large moral and intellectual organs, adequately educated,—and moderate animal organs, disciplined to obedience,—you may rely on their virtuous qualities when you employ them as public servants, in all emergencies, not involving disease, as securely as upon the physical elements of nature; and that if you choose men deficient in the moral and intellectual organs, and greatly gifted in those of the animal propensities, be their education and religious professions what they may, you will, in the hour of trial and temptation, find that you have relied on broken reeds, and on vessels that retain no water.

I expect these remarks to draw from many of you a smile of incredulity, and from some even one of derision; but nature can wait her time. You and your sons will probably long contemn this method of distinguishing the native qualities of the candidates who solicit your votes; but you and they will suffer as you have done in times past, and now do, from the inferior qualities of many individuals whom you elect, until you open your eyes to your own interest and duty. Your vast constituencies cannot, by personal ex-

perience and observation, enjoy the advantage of judging of the qualities of all the candidates who solicit their suffrages; and nothing is more fallacious than the testimonies of friends and political partisans; but the brain cannot be moulded to suit the interests of the day, and it will not deceive you. It affords an index to native qualities which, with honest intention and assiduous care, may be read; and I unhesitatingly anticipate that the day will come when your posterity will acknowledge that it sheds a light from heaven upon the entangled path of their public duties.

Finally—Phrenology, when generally taught, will not only render your citizens, far more discriminating in their estimates of the qualities of public men, but it will give them confidence in moral and intellectual principle; it will induce them to seek for, draw forth, elevate, and honour, the good and the wise, who at present are too often borne down and excluded by noisy egotism and bustling profession, and left unemployed in the shade. It will also enable the good to recognise each other, and to combine their powers; it will give definite forms to their objects, and union to their efforts. In short, it appears to me to be a great instrument presented to you by Providence, to enable you to realize that grandeur and excellence in your individual and social conditions which the friends of humanity hold you bound to exhibit as the legitimate fruits of freedom.

In presenting to you these views, I exercise that freedom of thought and of speech which your institu-

tions declare to be the birthright of every rational being; but I do not construe your attention in listening to them into approval of their substance; nor do I desire that your countrymen should hold you answerable for either their truth or their tendency. We must hear before we can know, and reflect before we can understand; and truth alone can bear investigation. Embrace, therefore, and apply whatever I may have uttered that is sound; and forgive and forget all that I may have stated in error. By your doing so, the cause of civilization will be advanced; while we, although differing in opinion, may live in the exercise of mutual affection and esteem. With my warmest acknowledgments for your kind attention, I respectfully bid you farewell.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.—Referred to on p. 45.

CERTIFICATES IN FAVOUR OF DR SEWALL'S "ERRORS OF PHRENOLOGY EXPOSED."

1. *From Mr John Quincy Adams to Dr Sewall, dated Washington, 5th April* 1839.

"I have read with great satisfaction your two lectures upon the science of Phrenology, *which I have never been able to prevail upon myself to think of as a serious speculation.* I have classed it with alchymy, with judicial astrology, with augury; and, as Cicero says that he wonders how two Roman Augurs could ever look each other in the face without laughing, I have felt something of the same surprise that two learned Phrenologists can meet without the same temptation."* Thus qualified to judge, Mr Adams congratulates Dr Sewall on the success of his work, and thanks him for "furnishing him with argument to meet the doctors who pack up the five senses in thirty-five parcels of the brain!"

2. *From the Honourable Daniel Webster, dated 8th March* 1839.

"I read your Examination of Phrenology when first published. Of the accuracy of the physical and anatomical facts which you state, I am no competent judge; but if your premises be well founded, the argument is conclusive." Mr Webster here candidly states his own inability to form any judgment through want of knowledge of the subject.

* These remarks are not very complimentary to the good faith or honesty of Phrenologists; but the only revenge which I shall take on Mr Adams for the aspersion, is to mention that Phrenologists *do laugh* when they meet, in his presence, and perceive his own head, which is bald and strongly marked, proclaiming, in forms so distinct that those who run may read, the truth of the science which he employs that head in denying.

3. *From the Honourable John Maclean, Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, dated 25th June* 1837.

"I do not profess fully to understand the science of Phrenology, if it may be called a science. You have taken the most effectual method to expose the absurdity of the system, and so completely have you succeeded, that I do not think the disciples of Gall and Spurzheim will attempt seriously to answer you."*

4. *From the Rev. Ruel Keith, D.D., dated 19th March* 1839.

"As I am one of those who believe the pretensions of Phrenology not only to be false, but very prejudicial to the interests of morality and religion, inasmuch as they degrade man from the rank of a free, and accountable being to that of a mere physical and irresponsible machine, I have heard with great pleasure of the intended republication of your admirable work on the subject," &c.

I had the pleasure of meeting this reverend gentleman, five or six months after this letter was penned, and discovered from his conversation that he was profoundly ignorant of the subject which he had so sweepingly condemned.

There are many letters of a similar description, and one of the writers, the Rev. Dr Fisk, actually commends Dr Sewall "for his fairness and candour," a compliment, which, to imitate Mr Adams's phrase, must have drawn a smile from Dr Sewall's own countenance when he read it.

Instead of preparing any serious exposition of the worthlessness of such certificates as these, I wrote and sent the following letter to the New York Evening Post, in which it was published on 6th September 1839. A few of the provincial papers copied it, but I was informed that many of them declined to do so, on account of the ridicule which it attached to several distinguished men. The whole was a *jeu d'esprit;* and if there be any point in the letter, it has been derived from the inherent absurdity of the original certificates themselves.

Letter of the Emperor of China to Dr Thomas Sewall, on the merits of Phrenology.

Since the second edition of Dr Sewall's work, "Errors of Phrenology Exposed," was published, the following letter has been received. It came too late to be printed along with the letters from Mr John Quincy Adams, Dr Ruel Keith, and other distinguished men, prefixed to the volume itself. The Evening Post is, therefore, requested to give it a place in its columns. It is proper to observe that in the Chinese language, the word "Barbarian," which occurs frequently in the letter, has a signification very much resembling the word "foreigner" in English. All who are not subjects of the Celestial Empire are "Barbarians" in the court language of China; and the term is not intended to be offensively applied.

* Dr Caldwell published an answer *so serious* that he did not leave one shred of Dr Sewall's argument adhering to another.

We, WHANG-HO-CHING, Brother to the Sun and Moon, Cousin to the Stars, Grand-father to the Comets and Meteors, Supreme Ruler of the Celestial Empire, and only Fountain of Universal Truth,—To the learned Barbarian Thomas Sewall, M.D., Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, in the United States of America, greeting:

Thou hast done well, O learned Barbarian, to lay at our feet thy production entitled "An Examination of Phrenology, in two Lectures;" for we are the fountain of all science. Thou askest our judgment on thy grand proposition,—"the brain is a unit." We condescend to inform thee that we have never inquired into the dark mysteries of the human skull; but, in virtue of our high relationship to the Sun and Moon, it belongs to us to know all things without study; and also, in matters recondite and strange, to judge infallible judgment even without knowledge. Learn, then, that in the Celestial Empire, men distinguished for their stupendous wisdom have no brains at all. It is only in the desolate outskirts of the universe, in regions far removed from the dazzling glories of the Celestial Kingdom, that brains are known to exist; and there they darken the sublime and immaterial spirit. We, and our treasurers and sub-treasurers; our postmasters and collectors; our mandarins and judges, district and supreme, men of surpassing wisdom; our wives and concubines, and the ten thousand millions of subjects who live on the breath of our Celestial nostrils, are all brainless.—Hence the greatness and glory of the Celestial Empire. Know, then, that the great sun of science, Confucius, before whom all barbarian sages are ignorant as unborn babes, hath written, "A hen's head to a wise man, a big head to a fool: small heads shall be exalted, because they are light; large heads shall be abased, because they are heavy and full of brains." In the Empire which encircles the Universe, and is endless as time, we cut off all heads that are large, because they are troublesome. Hence our everlasting peace.

But, O most learned Barbarian, we chide the presumption of thy friends. Know that it belongs to us alone, in virtue of our high prerogative, to judge infallible judgment without knowledge. To Barbarians this is not vouchsafed; yet a certain Barbarian, who in thy pages, indicates his existence by the hieroglyphic marks, "J. Q. Adams," speaketh as one possessing wisdom, concerning the uses of the brain; nevertheless this Barbarian saith "I have never been able to prevail on myself to think of it as a serious speculation." We, the Great Whang-Ho-Ching, rebuke the barbarian Adams. It belongs to us ALONE to judge infallible judgment without knowledge.

We rebuke, also, the Barbarian whose marks are "John McLean," who useth these words: "I am, in a great measure, unacquainted with the anatomy of the parts involved in the question: but I have always supposed that there was a tendency in common in the brain." Make known to this Barbarian that he insults our Celestial Majesty by his presumption, and, surely, in his brain wisdom has no tenancy.

It belongeth to the brother of the sun and moon alone to judge righteous judgment without knowledge. Thou stylest this Barbarian, "Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States." Truly hath the heaven-eyed Confucius written "Darkness envelopeth the Barbarian." How otherwise could a Barbarian Judge pretend to judge without knowledge?

We rebuke also those who are known among Barbarians by the hieroglyphic marks "John Sargeant," "H. L. Pinckney," "S. Chapin," "Justin Edwards," "Moses Stewart," and "Ruel Keith." Touching the brain they have all usurped the Celestial prerogative, which belongs to us alone,—they have pretended to judge infallible judgment without knowledge.—Verily Barbarian brains obscure wisdom and engender presumption.

We commend the Barbarian whose marks are "Daniel Webster." He judgeth *cautious* judgment, as behoveth all Barbarians. He saith, "Of the value of the physical and anatomical facts which you state, I am no competent judge; but *if* your premises be well founded, the argument is conclusive." Our great interpreter of the Barbarian tongue, Hungi-Fuski-Chang, read to us, lately, forth of a Barbarian book, these words—"*A second Daniel* come to judgment." We condescend to greet this "second Daniel." His wisdom is worthy of a mandarin of the Celestial Empire: "If the brain be good for nothing; then good for nothing is the brain!!" He is not this Barbarian read the pages of the sublime Confucius? Only from the deep fountains of his inspired volumes could such discreet wisdom penetrate the mind of a Barbarian, obscured by a brain.

We instruct our Interpreter Hungi-Fuski-Chang, to render this our epistle into thy Barbarian speech, lest our celestial wisdom, radiating with too intense a brightness, should extinguish thy feeble and Barbarian mind, clouded by that "unit" styled by thee a brain.

Given at our Palace of the Moon, in the year of the Celestial Empire, the Seven hundred and fifty-fourth thousand; and of our reign the 399th year.

(Signed) WHANG-HO-CHING.

Seal of the

FIGURE.

A large man with a small head, sitting on a white cloud, the sun beneath his right arm, the moon beneath his left, a tiara of comets around his head, and a firmament of stars beneath his feet. His countenance is radiant with self-complacency, good nature, and foolishness.

(Signed) FUM, Chancellor.

Celestial Empire.
A correct translation.

(Signed) HUNGI-FUSKI-CHANG,
Interpreter of Barbarian tongues.

Probably some of my American readers may consider that by accepting Dr Sewall's hospitality in Washington, I was precluded from offering any strictures on his work; but I beg leave to observe, that on that occasion I told him personally that he had mistaken and misrepresented Phrenology; and that it was subsequently to this information that he reproduced all his mistakes, misrepresentations, fictions, and misquotations, as if he had never heard that they were objectionable. It was also long after Dr Caldwell had demonstrated in print his errors and disingenuousness, beyond the possibility of hesitation on the subject. In these circumstances, his republication is a deliberate adherence to error, which no private considerations can palliate, far less justify.

No. II.—Referred to on p. 106.

DESCRIPTION OF THE NORMAL SEMINARY OF GLASGOW, BY ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, ESQ. RECTOR OF THAT INSTITUTION.

To George Combe, Esq. Glasgow, 207 St George's Road.
My Dear Sir, 23*d November* 1840.

I shall rejoice to be in any way instrumental in advancing the cause of Common School Education in America. During my two years' residence in the United States, I devoted all my energies to that cause. I had the pleasure of holding intercourse with many of its most zealous advocates, and, though now precluded from direct co-operation with them, I cease not to cherish the liveliest interest in their success.

The great obstacle to the progress of common school education in America is the want of properly qualified teachers. This arises from two causes—the inadequate remuneration of teachers compared with other classes of the community, and the absence of any provision for training candidates for the office. These causes co-exist, and means must be taken to remove them simultaneously. The bettering of the condition of the teacher will not avail, unless provision is made for securing a higher standard of qualification. On the other hand, the establishing of training seminaries, will never insure a supply of properly qualified teachers unless measures are adopted for rendering their situations respectable and comfortable. In a country like America, where there are so many openings for talent and industry, it is not to be expected that educated men will continue to labour in situations, the emoluments of which are much below the average gains of every other profession.

For raising the status of teachers various plans were advocated by

me in the Educator, a paper established by Dr Junkin, President of Lafayette College, and myself, and of which I continued joint-editor during my stay in the United States. One of these was to place teaching on the same footing as the other learned professions, by prohibiting all persons from practising it who had not a regular diploma. For granting these diplomas, I suggested that boards of teachers should be established in each county of the different States, analogous to the County Medical Board in the State of New York, and over these a State board exercising the same functions as the county board, and to which there should be liberty of appeal. The justice, expediency, and practicability of this plan are argued at considerable length in the Educator of 7th July 1839. On various public occasions I recommended other measures for improving the condition of teachers, such as attaching to every common school a house and garden for the teacher, declaring the office to be one held during life or good behaviour, instead of the present system of annual elections, and augmenting their income by allowing a small fee to be exacted from each pupil in addition to their salary.

For the training of teachers, you are aware that in Pennsylvania, at least, I recommended the attaching of model schools, and a professorship of education to the existing colleges, rather than the establishing of distinct normal seminaries. My reasons were, 1*st*, The saving of expense in the erection of buildings, and endowment of professorships, thereby enabling the State to expend its bounty in providing scholarships for supporting indigent young men of talent during the period of their training. 2*dly*, The giving greater unity to the system of education, by connecting the common schools with the higher seminaries. 3*dly*, The avoiding the difficulty in regard to religious instruction, the colleges being connected with various religious denominations, and liberty of choice being thus afforded to persons qualifying themselves as teachers. 4*thly*, The raising the status of teachers, by associating them during the course of their studies with persons preparing for the other learned professions. Had the Legislature adopted the plan proposed, and applied the $40,000 asked by the superintendent of public schools for the endowment of normal seminaries, to the erection of 400 scholarships of $100 each (fifty scholarships to each of the eight colleges of Pennsylvania), taking an obligation from the persons benefited, that they would either refund the cost of their education, or serve the State as common school teachers for three years, I have no hesitation in saying that the 200 teachers who would have been annually sent forth, supposing the course limited to two years, would speedily have raised the standard of common school instruction, and given an impetus to the progress of education throughout the State. That the superintendent's plan would not have succeeded, was, I think, clearly proved by an experiment made at Easton. The trustees and president of Lafayette College, at my suggestion, built a model school, invited a teacher from Scotland, and advertised in the New York and Philadelphia papers,

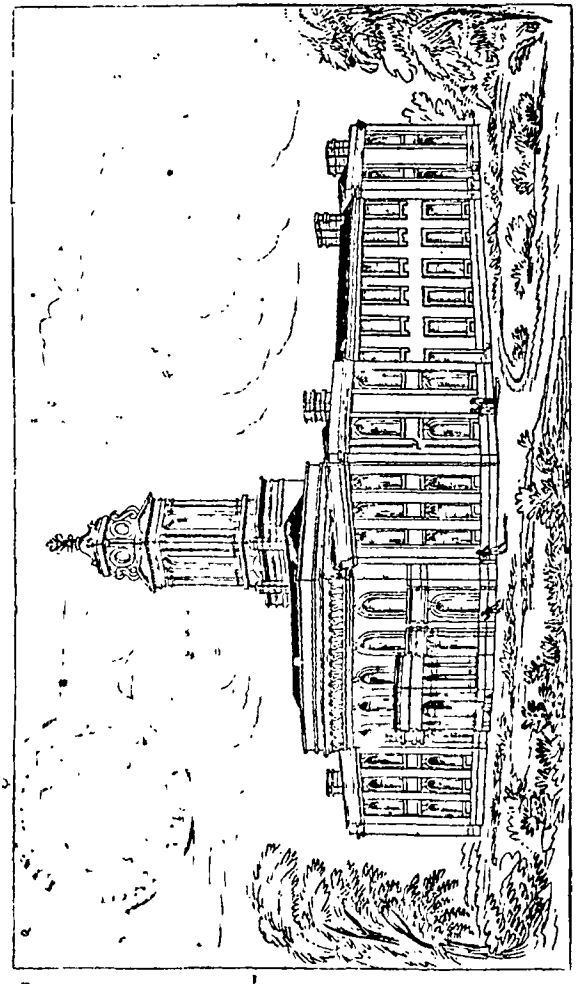
that I was willing to give gratuitous instruction in the art of teaching to persons desirous of becoming common school teachers, and to superintend their training in the model school attached to the college. The advertisements were continued at intervals for several months, and the result was, that we had three applications. Had the normal seminaries been built, the superintendent could have offered nothing more than we did, and had no reason to expect different success. Persons willing, under existing circumstances, to become common school teachers, have not ordinarily the means of supporting themselves during the course of instruction, and those able to support themselves are not willing to become common school teachers.

I have said that the plan which I proposed for Pennsylvania had a special reference to the circumstances of that State. In the New England States the number of persons qualified, and desirous to become common school teachers, is greater, and the success of distinct normal seminaries less problematical. In Massachusetts one such seminary had been established before I left America; and from the last report of the Connecticut Educational Board, I observe that the enlightened superintendent of public schools strongly recommends the establishment of at least one distinct normal seminary in that State. In the hope that the experience of the Glasgow Educational Society in their normal seminary may be useful to the managers of these and similar institutions, I shall endeavour to furnish you with the details which you request regarding that seminary. Professor Bache, in his admirable report on the state of education in Europe, has indeed described the seminary as it was at the period of his visit. Besides the changes since introduced, my position, of course, affords me greater facilities for acquiring a knowledge of its internal machinery than even he possessed.

From the accompanying plan, you will observe that the buildings consist of a central compartment, and two wings running back in the form of parallelograms, and enclosing on three sides a space used as exercise ground for the normal students. The buildings front the City Road, and a street runs parallel to the boundary wall on the north side. On either side, and behind the buildings, there are vacant spaces occupied as play-grounds, each school having one attached to it.

Standing in front of the seminary, you have immediately before you the central building, containing on the ground-floor a house for the janitor, and rooms for the secretary and rector; on the second floor a hall and class-rooms for the normal students, and on the attic storey a room lighted from the roof, to be used as a class-room for drawing. On the ground floor of the right wing is the Infant School. On the second storey the School of Industry, in which girls of ten years of age and upwards, in addition to reading the Scriptures, writing, and arithmetic, are taught sewing and knitting. Behind the School of Industry are apartments for the master of the Infant School On the ground-floor of the left wing is the Juvenile School for chil-

dren of both sexes, from six to fourteen, under two masters, having each an assistant. The second storey of this wing is occupied as a



Private Seminary, in which the fees are higher than in the other schools, and the branches taught more numerous, but the method of instruction the same as in the other Schools. Behind are apartments

for one of the masters of the Juvenile School. The Private Seminary alone is self-supporting. The fees of the other schools are intentionally low, so as to exclude none; the charge per quarter in the Infant School being 2s.,—in the Juvenile, 3s.,—for children under eight; and 4s. for those above that age; and in the School of Industry, 4s. The buildings and grounds cost L.15,000, of which L.5000 were contributed by Government—L.7000 remain as a debt on the property. The interest of the debt, and the excess of the expenditure over the sum raised by fees, are met by private subscription. The normal students pay L.3, 3s. to the institution, and support themselves during the period of their attendance, which at present is fixed at not less than six months. The directors contemplate making it twelve. The inability of the students to support themselves for a longer period, is the sole obstacle to this.

The seminary is open to persons of all the different religious denominations, and contains at present Presbyterians of all the different bodies, Episcopalians, Wesleyan Methodists, Independents, and one Baptist. Candidates for admission are required only to bring certificates of their moral character from the clergyman of the denomination to which they belong. On presenting this, they are examined by a board, composed of the rector and principal masters of the Model Schools. Candidates are examined on whatever they profess to know; and as they differ widely in acquirements, the nature of the examination varies accordingly; embracing occasionally classics, mathematics, and the elements of natural and moral science; confined at other times to grammar, geography, arithmetic, and the history, doctrines, and precepts of the Bible. If found to possess a competent knowledge of the subjects last specified, the candidates are recommended for admission. If found deficient, they are either advised to prosecute their studies with a view to be again examined at a subsequent period, or dissuaded from thinking of teaching as an employment.

After being admitted, the students enter on a course of training. The shortness of the period of attendance precludes the idea of attempting more in the way of instruction, than revising their previous knowledge, and arranging it anew, so as to give them a firmer hold of the general principles. They attend forty hours weekly; of which, during the last four months, sixteen are spent in receiving instruction, eight in observing the model schools, and sixteen in giving lessons under the superintendence of the masters and rector. During the first two months, a greater proportion of time is spent in observing the normal schools, as they are not expected to give lessons. Reports of what passes in the schools under their observation, are given in to the rector weekly. The written exercises of the students of two months' standing and upwards, are of a different character.

The method of imparting instruction pursued in the Model Schools of the Glasgow Society is so peculiar that I despair of making it intelligible without actually exhibiting it in operation. One lesson

from the Scriptures, and another from the Book of Nature, are given daily to the children arranged in a gallery opposite to the master. Each of these lessons is given orally, the children taking part in the exercise, answering questions, and filling in ellipses. The idea is to present to the mental eye of the children a clear picture of the object described, or point to be illustrated—to tell them nothing which, by analogy, they can be led to discover for themselves—to proceed from the known to the unknown—slowly and gradually using the simplest language, and availing yourself of every possible mode of illustration, —to notice all the answers of the children, never dogmatically passing judgment on these answers, but by a judicious series of questions leading the child, if in error, to discover his mistake, and after eliciting the true answer, to make sure that it is received, by calling on all the children to fill up ellipses in which it is involved. The method differs essentially from the verbal analysis of the Sessional School, in which the fragments of knowledge that occur in reading are taken to pieces, but no attempt is made to reconstruct them so as to exhibit a connected view of any one point, far less of any one department of science. It approaches more nearly to that of Pestalozzi than any other with which I am acquainted, and yet I have reason to believe the individual under whom it was wrought out, was unconscious of that resemblance. The person to whom I refer is, of course, Mr Stow, the indefatigable secretary of the Glasgow Society, in whose recent work on "The Training System" you will find a full exposition of his views. In the method of teaching, reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, there is less difference betwixt this and other schools, although in all, the general principle of addressing the understanding before consigning to the verbal memory, is kept distinctly in view.

The masters accompany the children to the play-ground, and mingle in their sports. He is a silent, but not unobservant witness of what passes, and on their return to the gallery, calls their attention to any impropriety which may have occurred, applying the Scripture rule to the case, and leading the child to pronounce on his own conduct, without directing especial notice to him, unless under aggravated circumstances. The school, I ought to have observed, opens and closes with prayer and praise, and the greatest pains are taken to blend devotional feelings with the exercises of the day,—the children being trained to regard religion as consisting in love to God and to man, and to practise throughout the day the precepts which have been explained in the Scripture morning lesson. The effect of this is to do away with the necessity of corporal punishment, and the ordinary stimuli of prizes and taking of places. The sense of duty, the desire of the approbation of their masters, and the pleasure arising from the gratification of their thirst for knowledge, and the exercise of the powers of their minds, are found sufficient to secure a greater amount of attention during the giving of the lesson than is common in schools. The interference of the parents, or, in an extreme case,

the expulsion of the offender, is had recourse to; but this last has occurred once only for several years.

Great attention is paid to physical exercises. The movements to and from the play-ground are performed in regular order, to vocal music; and whenever the attention begins to flag in the gallery, physical movements, or the singing of some lively air, are employed to rouse the sluggish. The influence of physical movements in training to habits of obedience is very important. Require of a child some intellectual effort, you cannot tell whether his non-obedience proceeds from want of power or of will. Ask him to raise his hand—you can be at no loss to determine which. The habit of obedience in one part of his conduct is extended to all. Vocal music is taught as a regular branch of instruction, and its beneficial influence is visible both on the temper and the spirits of the children, harmonizing and softening the character, and cheering and enlivening them after mental toil.

To prepare a person accustomed to a different method, for conducting a school on such principles as these, within the limited period at present in use, is next to impossible. All that we can do is to put him on the way. Whether he will go forward or return to his former method, depends partly on the individual himself, partly on the directors of the school in which he is called to labour. The candidate teacher is first placed in the infant department. The necessity of using simple language, and of being clear and orderly in his statements, is here forced on his conviction. After he has acquired an idea of the system, he is employed in giving lessons to detachments of the children from the Model Schools, in the hall, under the rector's superintendence. The subjects of these lessons are prescribed, and the students are expected to prepare themselves carefully for giving the lesson. After the children withdraw, the voice and manner of the different students who have been employed, and the matter and language of the lessons themselves, are minutely criticised by the rector, who occasionally interposes even during the lesson to correct an erroneous statement, or bring out more fully a point slurred over. Once a-week four of the senior students give each a lesson to the children in the gallery of one of the departments, on subjects prescribed the week before. These lessons are given in presence of the secretary, the rector, the master of the department, and all the students. At the close of the lessons, all, except the master of the department and the children, withdraw to the hall, and the lessons are there subjected to a searching criticism by such of the senior students as feel disposed and by the master and secretary, the rector summing up the criticisms, and enlarging occasionally on one or more points of special importance. In addition to these exercises, the senior students once a-week give lessons to their fellow-students on prescribed subjects in presence of the rector. The students on these occasions are enjoined to give no answers which a child might not be expected to give, and the ingenuity of the trainer is put to the test in bringing out answers

without departing from the principles of the system. The rector occasionally interposes to check wandering, and bring back to the point, or correct erroneous statements, and he can do this the more freely from the absence of the children. He exemplifies the system in lessons to the students twice a-week; one on Natural History, and one on Physics.

The number of students varies from thirty to forty, of whom one-third are females. Had we the means of aiding deserving persons to support themselves during the course, our numbers might be doubled or tripled. As it is, the demand for teachers trained in the seminary far exceeds the supply, and this it is which keeps up our numbers. Had they not the hope of bettering their circumstances by submitting to a course of training, the mere desire of professional improvement could not be expected to induce so many to submit to the privations which they often find necessary for attaining their end. Our Transatlantic brethren must keep this in view in planning Normal Seminaries. No one will submit to a laborious course of training to prepare for a situation which is not worth the accepting after that training is terminated. One other point I would urge on their especial notice. Normal Seminaries, if they are to be useful, must be so conducted as to inspire the candidate teacher with deep devotional feeling. The remuneration of the teacher, under the most favourable circumstances, is so inadequate, and the duties which he is called to perform so laborious, that, to insure their right discharge, he must be animated by higher motives than the hope of earthly reward. To train him to act on these motives ought to be the great aim of rightly conducted Normal Seminaries.

For the encouragement of benevolent individuals desirous of promoting the interests of education by the establishing of Normal Schools, let me remind them, in conclusion, that the Glasgow Society commenced their labours with one small Infant School—that they have trained since they began their operations upwards of 600 teachers, most of whom are still labouring in different parts of the world; and that they have now under a course of instruction in the commodious buildings which they have erected, upwards of 600 children, and from forty to fifty candidate teachers, with every prospect of increasing usefulness.—I remain, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

ROB. CUNNINGHAM.

No. II.—Referred to on p. 121.

TABLE OF ATTENDANCE ON TWELVE LECTURES ON PHRENOLOGY IN HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT.

Date.	Weather.	Subscribers.	Visiters.	Young Men's Institute.	Complimentary.
1839.					
Sept. 27.	Fair.	50	25	—	12
„ 30.	Rain.	49	14	—	13
Oct. 2.	Fair.	—	—	35	—
„ 4.	Do.	66	6	46	11
„ 7.	Do.	60	4	56	8
„ 9.	Do.	62	12	54	10
„ 11.	Do.	59	14	53	9
„ 14.	Rain.	47	1	50	9
„ 16.	Fair.	57	6	54	10
„ 18.	Do.	55	8	52	10
„ 21.	Do.	53	14	52	38
„ 23.	Do.	56	15	54	43
„ 25.	Do.	59	23	54	42
		12) 673	12) 142	11) 560	12) 216
	Average	56	11	50	18

HARTFORD, 25*th October* 1839.

At a meeting of Mr Combe's Phrenological Class, held immediately after the close of the last lecture of the course, the class was organized by calling the Rev. Dr Totten, president of Washington College, to the chair, and appointing Wm. James Hamersley, secretary.

On motion of Erastus Smith, Esq., a committee of three was appointed by the chair to draft resolutions for the consideration of the class. The committee consisted of the Rev. Mr Gallaudet, Erastus Smith, Esq., and Dr A. Brigham.

The committee having reported, the following resolutions were discussed, and unanimously adopted.

Resolved—That we have derived pleasure and instruction from the interesting course of lectures now completed by Mr Combe.

Resolved—That from his able exposition of Phrenology, we have learned numerous facts of practical utility in relation to intellectual, moral, and physical education.

Resolved—That we regard his exposition of the subject as highly valuable in teaching us the functions of the brain, and the philosophy of the mind; and believe that great benefits will result from the application of many of its principles to the education of youth, to legislation, jurisprudence, and the treatment of the insane.

Resolved—That a committee of five be appointed to convey to Mr

Combe these resolutions of his class, and an expression of thanks for the gratification his lectures have afforded them.

The committee appointed, in accordance with the above resolution, were Rev. Mr Gallaudet, Erastus Smith, Esq., Dr. A. Brigham, Rev. Mr Hovey, and Professor Stewart.

On motion adjourned.

Silas Totten, *Chairman.*

Wm. James Hamersley, *Secretary.*

No. III.—Referred to on p. 174.

TABLE OF ATTENDANCE ON SECOND COURSE OF LECTURES ON PHRENOLOGY AT BOSTON.

Date.	Weather.	Subscribers.	Visiters.	Teachers.	Complimentary.
1839.					
Nov. 1.	Fair.	141	7	19	26
„ 4.	Do.	172	8	27	32
„ 6.	Do.	190	8	36	31
„ 8.	Do.	199	12	40	32
„ 11.	Do.	192	6	42	26
„ 13.	Do.	195	5	40	36
„ 15.	Do.	151	10	35	28
„ 18.	Do.	157	11	41	32
„ 20.	Do.	180	22	47	29
„ 22.	Do.	178	18	47	36
„ 25.	Do.	161	24	34	22
„ 27.	Do.	139	37	43	30
		12) 2055	12) 168	12) 451	12) 360
		Average 171	14	37	30

No. IV.—Referred to on p. 180.

SPEECH OF HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR EVERETT ON ST ANDREW'S DAY, 30TH NOVEMBER 1839.

The Chairman of the Scots Charitable Society gave as a toast, "Massachusetts, and her distinguished Chief Magistrate."

On the announcement of this toast, Governor Everett said,—

I rise, Mr President, to tender you my sincere thanks for the flat-

tering notice with which you and the company have been pleased to honour me. I can say with entire truth, though I am unconnected by any national association with this occasion, that I have cordially entered into its spirit. Though I am a republican by principle and feeling, I am not so much of a stoic as not to have had my sympathies touched, while your national anthem was sung with such spirit and feeling. It is a beautiful spectacle to witness this voluntary tribute of respect paid at the distance of three thousand miles, to the youthful sovereign of Great Britain, by a company like this who, though the children or descendants of Scotland, with few exceptions (as was observed by H. M. Consul on my right) owe her at present no political allegiance. It would be a pleasing incident if it stood alone. But it is not your solitary act. You do but add your voices to a strain, which is almost literally echoing round the globe. On this day, dedicated to your patron saint, the tribute of respect which you have just paid to the maiden majesty of your father-land, is repeated by the sons of Scotland, wheresoever their lot is cast at home or abroad, from the utmost Orkneys to the Cape of Good Hope, and from Canada to Hindostan; with no difference but that of time, as the evening star, rising successively on each region of the world-encircling empire of England, appoints the hour of the social gathering, and summons the sons of Caledonia to their patriotic vespers.

I thank you, Mr President, for allowing me to partake your hospitality on this occasion. I was not aware till I received your kind invitation, that there existed among us an institution like this, coeval almost with the settlement of the country. It would be doing injustice to a society of this description, though it may bear a foreign name, to regard it as an institution of foreigners. Some of you, gentlemen, trace your descent, I presume, from ancestors who came to this country with the second, perhaps with the first, generation of its settlers. Among the names of the original founders of the institution, as preserved in one of the ancient record books, kindly put into my hands by my friend Mr Gordon, I recognise some which still subsist among us, and which stand as high in the respect of the community as they did one hundred and eighty years ago.

It is a principle deeply wrought into the destinies of America, that, settled originally in times of trial and convulsion in Europe, it should at all subsequent periods afford a refuge to those who might be driven abroad by the storms of fortune, or who, from a desire of bettering their condition in life, should go forth from the crowded populations of the elder world, and follow the guidance of an honest spirit of adventure to the new-found continent. Accordingly we find that, in the higher paths of State, swept as they are by the tempests of revolution, regicide judges in ancient times, and in our own times fugitive kings, have found a safe retreat on our shores. In the quiet and happier walks of private life, there has at all times been an active resort from Europe to America; and I doubt not that, at this moment, in

more than one foreign country, many a loving and aching heart, waiting to receive the summons to follow those who have gone before, is able to respond to the plaintive strain of your immortal Burns,—

> I turn to the west, when I gae to my rest,
> That happy my dreams and my slumbers may be;
> For far in the west is he I loe best,
> The youth that is dear to my bairn and to me.

Now, Sir, among all those, who, coming from every country in Europe, have brought hither the qualities by which they are characterized at home,—whether it be the firm and manly Englishman, the ardent and generous son of Erin, the mercurial and generous Frenchman, the sedate and industrious Hollander or German, there is none who has proved a better citizen in his new home, than the punctual, intelligent, and conscientious Scot. We of New England ought to give you this credit, for both those who in a serious strain are disposed to pronounce our eulogy, and those who, in a lighter mood, make merry with our foibles, ascribe to us pretty much the same merits and defects of character. I may say, therefore, though to this extent a party interested, yet with so much the greater claim to be believed sincere, that there is no people in Europe or America among whom the Scottish emigrant has reason to blush for his native land. You are not numerous here, Sir. I am sorry for it; and I hardly know why it is so; for I suppose we should be unwilling, on either side, to acknowledge the validity of the reason, which has sometimes been assigned for the fact, viz. that we Yankees are too canny for you.

Your society, Sir, as the secretary, in his very handsome report, has informed us, was founded near two hundred years ago. Scotland was then an independent kingdom. Not merely independent, she had more than half a century before sent her sovereign to sit upon the throne of the sister realms. Although in the particular year in which the society was established, in 1657, the monarch of his proscribed lineage was perhaps, like some of your founders, wandering in foreign lands dependent on the stranger for protection, yet three years had scarcely elapsed before he was triumphantly restored. At the close of the century, however, the separate sovereignty of Scotland was merged in the Union of the kingdoms; in consequence of the superior wealth and numbers of the English, the local sceptre of the ancient monarchy departed for ever; and the crown of Bruce was locked up in a dusty chest in Holyroodhouse, never more to be drawn forth, but as an object of antiquarian curiosity, or as a melancholy show. But let not the patriotic son of Scotland lament the change. The sceptre of mind can never pass away; she has won for her brows a diadem, whose lustre can never be obscured. Not to speak of the worthies of ages long passed; of the Knoxes, the Buchanans, and the early minstrelsy of the border; the land of your fathers, Sir, since it ceased to be a separate kingdom, has, through the intellect of her gifted sons,

acquired a supremacy over the minds of men, more extensive and more enduring than that of Alexander or Augustus. It would be impossible to enumerate them all,—the Blairs of the last generation, the Chalmerses of this; the Robertsons and Humes; the Smiths, the Reids, the Stuarts, the Browns; the Homes, the Mackenzies; the Mackintoshes, the Broughams, the Jeffreys, with their distinguished compeers, both in physical and moral science. The Marys and the Elizabeths, the Jameses and the Charleses will be forgotten before these names will perish from the memory of men. And when I add to them those other illustrious names—Burns, Campbell, Byron, and Scott, may I not truly say, Sir, that the throne and the sceptre of England will crumble into dust like those of Scotland; and Windsor Castle and Westminster Abbey will lie in ruins, as poor and desolate as those of Scone and Iona, before the lords of Scottish song shall cease to reign in the hearts of men.

For myself, Sir, I confess that I love Scotland. I have reason to do so. I have trod the soil of the

> Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
> Land of the mountain and the flood:

I have looked up to the cloud-capt summit of Ben Lomond; have glided among the fairy islets of Loch Katrine: and, from the battlements of Stirling Castle, have beheld the links of Forth sparkling in the morning sun. I have done more, Sir; I have tasted that generous hospitality of Scotland, which her Majesty's Consul has so justly commemorated; I have held converse with her most eminent sons; I have made my pilgrimage to Melrose Abbey, in company with that modern magician, who, mightier than the magician of old that sleeps beneath the marble floor of its chancel, has hung the garlands of immortal poesy upon its shattered arches, and made its moss-clad ruins a shrine, to be visited by the votary of the muse from the remotest corners of the earth to the end of time. Yes, Sir, musing as I did, in my youth, over the sepulchre of the wizard, once pointed out by the bloody stain of the cross and the image of the arch-angel:—standing within that consecrated enclosure, under the friendly guidance of him whose genius has made it holy ground; while every nerve within me thrilled with excitement, my fancy kindled with the inspiration of the spot. I seemed to behold, not the vision so magnificently described by the minstrel,—the light, which, as the tomb was opened,

> broke forth so gloriously,
> Streamed upward to the chancel roof,
> And through the galleries far aloof:

But I could fancy that I beheld, with sensible perception, the brighter light which had broken forth from the master mind; which had streamed from his illumined page all-gloriously upward, above the pinnacles of worldly grandeur, till it mingled its equal beams with that of the brightest constellations in the intellectual firmament of England.

No. V.—Referred to on p. 191.

MODE OF INSTRUCTING LAURA BRIDGMAN, DEAF, DUMB, BLIND, AND WITHOUT SMELL.

An extract from the diary kept by her instructor will give an idea of her manner of questioning.

December 3.

"Spent one hour in giving Laura an idea of the meaning of the words left and right. She readily conceived that left hand meant *her* left hand, but with difficulty generalized the term. At last, however, she caught the idea, and eagerly spelt the name of her arms, hands, fingers, feet, ears, &c., as they were touched, and named them, right or left, as might be; suddenly pausing, however, and looking puzzled, she put her finger on her *nose*, and asked if that were left or right; thus she continually puzzles one: but such is her eagerness to find out one's meaning, such a zealous co-operation is there on her part, that it is a delightful task to teach her.

"Uses to-day freely the prepositions *in* and *on*: she says, teacher sitting *in* sofa:—do not dare to correct her in such cases of anomalous usage of the preposition, but prefer to let her be in error, rather than shake her faith in a rule given: the corrections must be made by and by: the sofa having sides, she naturally says *in*."

In her eagerness to advance her knowledge of words and to communicate her ideas she coins words, and is always guided by analogy. Sometimes her process of *word-making* is very interesting; for instance, after some time spent in giving her an idea of the abstract meaning of *alone*, she seemed to obtain it, and understanding that being *by one's self* was to be alone, or *al-one*. She was told to go to her chamber, or school, or elsewhere, and return *alone*; she did so, but soon after, wishing to go with one of the little girls, she strove to express her meaning thus, Laura go *al-two*.

The same eagerness is manifested in her attempts to define, for the purpose of classification: for instance, some one giving her the word bachelor, she came to her teacher for a definition, she was taught that men who had wives were *husbands*, those who had none, *bachelors*; when asked if she understood, she said, "*man no have wife bachelor—Tenny bachelor:*" referring to an old friend of hers. Being told to define bachelor, she said "*bachelor no have wife, and smoke pipe.*" Thus she considered the individual peculiarity of smoking in one person as a specific mark of the *species bachelor*.

Then, in order to test her knowledge of the word, it was said by her teacher, Tenny has got no wife, what is Tenny?

She paused and then said, *Tenny is wrong!*

The word widow being explained to her, a woman whose husband is dead, and she being called upon to define, she said, "*widow is wo-*

man, man dead, and cold," and eked out her meaning, by sinking down, and dropping her hand, to signify *in the ground.*

The two last words she added herself, they not having been in the definition: but she instantly associates the idea of *coldness* and *burial* with death.

Her having acquired any idea of death was not by the wish of her teacher, it having been his intention to reserve the subject until such a development of her reason should be attained as would enable him to give a correct idea of it.

He hopes still, by aid of the analogy of the germination and growth of plants, to give her a consoling hope of resurrection, to counterbalance the almost instinctive dread of death.

She had touched a dead body before she came to the Institution.

She easily acquired a knowledge and use of active verbs, especially those expressive of *tangible action*; as to walk, to run, to sew, to shake.

At first, of course, no distinction could be made of mood and tense: she used the words in a general sense, and according to the order of her *sense of ideas*; thus, in asking some one to give her bread, she would first use the word expressive of the leading idea, and say, "*Laura bread, give.*" If she wanted water she would say, *water, drink, Laura.*

Soon, however, she learned the use of the auxiliary verbs, of the difference of past, present, and future tense; for instance, here is an early sentence, *Keller is sick—when will Keller well*; the use of *be* she had not acquired.

Having acquired the use of substantives, adjectives, and verbs, prepositions and conjunctions, it was deemed time to make the experiment of trying to teach her to *write*, and to shew her that she might communicate her ideas to persons not in contact with her.

It was amusing to witness the mute amazement with which she submitted to the process, the docility with which she imitated every motion, and the perseverance with which she moved her pencil over and over again in the same track, until she could form the letter. But when at last the idea dawned upon her, that, by this mysterious process, she could make other people understand what she thought, her joy was boundless.

Never did a child apply more eagerly and joyfully to any task than she did to this, and in a few months she could make every letter distinctly, and separate words from each other.

The following anecdote will give an idea of her fondness for teazing or innocent fun or mischief. Her teacher looking one day unobserved into the girls' play-room, saw three blind girls playing with the rocking-horse. Laura was on the crupper, another in the saddle, and a third clinging on the neck, and they were all in high glee, swinging backward and forward as far as the rockers would fall. There was a peculiarly arch look in Laura's countenance—the natural language of sly fun. She seemed prepared to give a spring, and suddenly when her end was lowest, and the others were perched high in the air, she sidled quickly off on the floor, and down went the other end so swiftly as to throw the girls off the horse.

This Laura evidently expected, for she stood a moment convulsed with laughter, then ran eagerly forward with outstretched hands to find the girls, and almost screamed with joy. As soon, however, as she got hold of one of them, she perceived that she was hurt, and instantly her countenance changed; she seemed shocked and grieved, and after caressing and comforting her playmate, she found the other, and seemed to apologise by spelling the word *wrong*, and caressing her.

When she can puzzle her teacher she is pleased, and often purposely spells a word wrong with a playful look; and if she catch her teacher in a mistake, she bursts into an ecstasy of laughter.

When her teacher had been at work giving her an idea of the words carpenter, chair-maker, painter, &c., in a generic sense, and told her that blacksmith made *nails*; she instantly held up her fingers and asked if blacksmith made them, though she knew well he did not.

With little girls of her own age she is full of frolic and fun, and no one enjoys a game at *romps* more than Laura.

She has the same fondness for a dress, for ribbons, and for finery as other girls of her age, and as a proof that it arises from the same amiable desire of pleasing others, it may be remarked that whenever she has a new bonnet or any new article of dress, she is particularly desirous to go to meeting, or to go out with it. If people do not notice it, she directs their attention by placing their hand upon it.

Generally she indicates her preference for such visitors as are the best dressed.

She is so much in company with blind persons that she thinks blindness common, and when first meeting a person, she asks if they are blind, or she feels for their eyes.

She evidently knows that the blind differ from seeing persons, for when she shews blind persons any thing she always puts their fingers on it.

She seems to have a perception of character, and to have no esteem for those who have little intellect. The following anecdote is significant of her perception of character, and shews that from her friends she requires something more than good-natured indulgence.

A new scholar entered school—a little girl about Laura's age. She was very helpless, and Laura took great pride and great pains in shewing her the way about the house, assisting her to dress and undress, and doing for her many things which she could not do herself.

In a few weeks it began to be apparent even to Laura that the child was not only helpless, but naturally very stupid, being almost an idiot. Then Laura gave her up in despair and avoided her, and has ever since had an aversion to being with her, passing her by as if in contempt. By a natural association of ideas she attributes to this child all those countless deeds which Mr *Nobody* does in every house, —if a chair is broken, or any thing is misplaced, and no one knows who did it, Laura attributes it at once to this child.

It has been observed before that she is familiar with the processes of addition and subtraction in small numbers. Subtracting one number from another puzzled her for a time, but by help of objects she

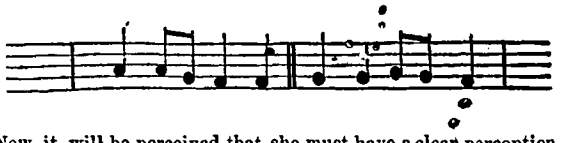
accomplished it. She can count and conceive objects to about one hundred in number—to express an indefinitely great number, or more than she can count, she says *hundred*. If she thought a friend was to be absent many years, she would say—will come hundred *Sundays*, meaning weeks. She is pretty accurate in measuring time, and seems to have an intuitive tendency to do it. Unaided by the changes of night and day, by the light, or the sound of any timepiece, she nevertheless divides time accurately.

With the days of the week, and the week itself as a whole, she is perfectly familiar; for instance, if asked what day will it be in fifteen days more, she readily names the day of the week. The day she divides by the commencement and end of school, by the recesses and by the arrival of meal-times.

She goes to bed punctually at seven o'clock, and of her own accord. For some time after she came under our charge she had some one to put her to bed every night; but soon it was thought best to send her alone, and that she might not wait for any one, she was left alone one evening; and she sat until quite late, a person watching her; and at last she seemed to form her resolution suddenly—she jumped up and groped her way up to bed. From that time to this she has never required to be told to go to bed, but at the arrival of the hour for retiring she goes by herself.

Those persons who hold that the capacity of perceiving and measuring the lapse of time is an innate and distinct faculty of the mind, may deem it an important fact that Laura evidently can measure time so accurately as to distinguish between a half and a whole note of music.

Seated at the pianoforte she will strike the notes in a measure like the following quite correctly:—



Now, it will be perceived that she must have a clear perception of the lapse of time, in order to strike the two eighths at the right instant, for in the first measure they occur at the second beat, in the second measure at the third beat.

There is no doubt that practice will enable her to subdivide time still more minutely. Possibly some attach an undue degree of importance to this power of measuring time, considered in a metaphysical point of view, for any one may make the same experiment upon himself, and by stopping his ears and closing his eyes, will find he can measure time, or the *duration of his sensation*, and know which of two periods is longest; nevertheless we shall continue carefully to note the phenomena in the case of Laura for the benefit of whom they may concern.

It is interesting, in a physiological point of view, to know the effect of the deprivation of three senses upon the remaining two.

The sense of smell being destroyed, it seems a curious question whether the effect upon the organ of taste is general or particular. That is, whether the taste is blunted generally, and for all things alike, or whether one kind of sapidity is more affected than another? To ascertain this some experiments have been tried, but as yet not enough to enable one to state confidently the results in minute distinction. The general conclusions are these:

Acids seem to make vivid and distinct impression upon the taste, and she apparently distinguishes the different degrees of acidity better than of sweetness or bitterness. She can distinguish between wine, cider, and vinegar, better than substances like manna, liquorice, and sugar. Of bitters she seems to have less perception, or indeed hardly any, for on putting powdered rhubarb into her mouth she called it *tea*, and on one saying *no*, and telling her to taste *close*, she evidently did try to taste it, but still called it tea, and spit it out—but without any contortion or any indication of its being particularly disagreeable.

Of course she has a repugnance to these kinds of experiments, and it seems almost imposing upon her good-nature to push them very far; we shall, however, be soon able to ascertain certainly how far she can distinguish different sapid bodies. Those who are curious in the physiology of the taste know that the highest degree of *gusto* or the acme of pleasure, is not obtained until just as the morsel has slipped over the glottis, and is on its way beyond power of recal down the œsophagus. This seems to be a wise precaution of nature to prevent the stomach being cheated of its due, for if the highest degree in pleasure of eating could be obtained without absolutely swallowing the morsel—the epicure could have an exhaustless source of pleasure, and need never degenerate into the *gourmand*.

Some physiologists who have speculated upon this subject, consider that this final climax of the pleasure of taste is produced by a fine aroma which, rising from the morsel and mounting up the fauces, pleasantly titillates the ramifications of the olfactory nerve. The fact that, when we have a cold in the head and the fauces are obstructed, the taste is blunted, seems to bear out this supposition; but, from some observations on Laura, one would be inclined to think that some other cause must contribute to the effect.

She appears to care less for the process of mastication than deglutition; and probably it is only the necessity of mechanical trituration of food, which induces her to go through with it before hastening to the pleasant part of swallowing. Now, as the imperfection of smell impairs the taste in the tongue and palate during mastication, it should have the same effect in deglutition, supposing this theory to be correct: but it seems not to be so—else Laura would have little inducement to swallow, save to fill a vacuity of stomach. Now, it seems doubtful whether the feeling of vacuity of stomach, strictly speaking, would shew a child the road for the food, or whether it would not be

as likely to stuff bread into its ear as into its mouth, if it had no pleasurable sensation in tasting; and further, if the pleasurable sensation did not increase and tempt to deglutition, it is doubtful whether hunger or vacuity of stomach *alone* would teach a child to swallow the chewed morsel.

On the whole, she seems to care less for eating than most children of her age.

With regard to the sense of touch it is very acute, even for a blind person. It is shewn remarkably in the readiness with which she distinguishes persons: there are forty inmates in the female wing, with all of whom of course Laura is acquainted; whenever she is walking through the passage-ways, she perceives, by the jar of the floor, or the agitation of the air, that some one is near her, and it is exceedingly difficult to pass her without being recognised. Her little arms are stretched out, and the instant she grasps a hand, a sleeve, or even part of the dress, she knows the person, and lets them pass on with some sign of recognition.

The innate desire for knowledge, and the instinctive efforts which the human faculties make to exercise their functions, is shewn most remarkably in Laura. Her tiny fingers are to her as eyes, and ears, and nose, and most deftly and incessantly does she keep them in motion; like the feelers of some insects which are continually agitated, and which touch every grain of sand in the path, so Laura's arms and hands are continually in play; and when she is walking with a person she not only recognises every thing she passes within touching distance, but by continually touching her companion's hands she ascertains what he is doing. A person walking across a room while she had hold on his left arm, would find it hard to take a pencil out of his waistcoat pocket with his right hand, without her perceiving it.

Her judgment of distances and of relations of place is very accurate; she will rise from her seat, go straight towards a door, put out her hand just at the right time, and grasp the handle with precision.

When she runs against a door which is shut, but which she expected to find open, she does not fret, but rubs her head and laughs, as though she perceived the ludicrous position of a person flat against a door trying to walk through it.

The constant and tireless exercise of her feelers gives her a very accurate knowledge of every thing about the house; so that if a new article, a bundle, bandbox, or even a new book, is laid any where in the apartments which she frequents, it would be but a short time before, in her ceaseless rounds, she would find it, and from something about it she would generally discover to whom it belonged.

She perceives the approach of persons by the undulations of the air striking her face; and she can distinguish the step of those who tread hard, and jar the floor.

At table, if told to be still, she sits and conducts herself with propriety; handles her cup, spoon, and fork, like other children; so that a stranger looking at her would take her for a very pretty child with a green ribbon over her eyes.

But when at liberty to do as she chooses, she is continually feeling of things, and ascertaining their size, shape, density, and use—asking their names and their purposes, going on with insatiable curiosity, step by step, towards knowledge.

Thus doth her active mind, though all silent and darkling within, commune by means of her one sense with things external, and gratify its innate craving for knowledge by close and ceaseless attention.

Qualities and appearances, unappreciable or unheeded by others, are to her of great significance and value; and by means of these her knowledge of external nature and physical relations will in time become extensive.

If the same success shall attend the cultivation of her moral nature, as has followed that of her intellect and her perceptive faculties, great will be the reward to her, and most interesting will be the results to others.

No. VII. Referred to on p. 239.

RESOLUTIONS OF CLASS AT ALBANY.

GEORGE COMBE, ESQ. ALBANY, *Feb.* 8. 1840.

Dear Sir,—At the close of your Course of Lectures in this city, on the 7th instant, the Class was organized by the appointment of Thomas W. Olcott, Esq. as chairman, and the Rev. Dr Bullions as secretary. The objects of the meeting were then stated by the chairman in the following words:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have listened to the exposition of the principles of Phrenology by decidedly the most gifted and distinguished advocate and teacher of that science now living, and the object of the meeting now called is to convey to Mr Combe, on bidding him farewell, the assurance of the pleasure with which we have attended his class and heard his lectures. The importance of Phrenology as a guide to health and physical education, most of competent judges will freely admit. The respected senior trustee of the Institution in which we are now assembled has long been an able and faithful champion of this branch of the subject, and Combe on Physiology has been adopted as a text-book in this Academy. If the science has not attained the accuracy of precision in details, yet its general principles are beginning to be acknowledged, and to occupy the attention of the most profound and cultivated minds. The proof of this fact I have in the character of the audience before me.—If gentlemen have any remarks or resolutions to offer, they will now be entertained.

After which, on motion of Rufus W. Peckham, Esq., it was unanimously,

Resolved,—That we have listened with deep and increasing interest

to the lectures delivered by George Combe, Esq. of Edinburgh on the subject of Phrenology and its application.

Resolved,—That we feel gratified and in the highest degree instructed, by the clear and able manner in which the principles of that science have been explained, and that the facts and numerous illustrations with which Mr Combe has fortified and enforced his principal positions, entitle them, in our view, to great weight and consideration.

Resolved,—That the application made by Mr Combe of the science of Phrenology to the explaining of life's complicated phenomena, and to the unfolding of the great principles upon which the physical education and the intellectual and moral culture of the young should be conducted, invest it with an interest, which, we believe, has not hitherto been properly appreciated, and we hope the day is not distant when every parent in this country shall be familiar with those principles.

Resolved,—That in our estimation the American people are greatly indebted to Mr Combe for his eminently successful efforts in promulgating doctrines so vitally essential to the proper development of the physical and mental powers of man, and the increasing consequences of which can be realized in a manner adequate to their importance only by coming generations.

Resolved,—That a copy of these Resolutions be presented to Mr. Combe, and that their publication in the daily papers of this city be requested.

It was then, on motion, resolved that Amos Dean, Esq., Dr Hamilton, and Rufus W. Peckham, Esq., be a committee to wait upon Mr Combe, and to present him with a copy of the above resolutions.

We assure you, Sir, that it gives us great pleasure in thus being made the medium of the communication of sentiments so fully accordant with those entertained by each of us; at the same time, it is with much regret we feel that, in performing this grateful office, we must bid you farewell.

With sentiments of the highest respect and consideration, we are, your obedient servants,

AMOS DEAN.
R. W. PECKHAM.
W. A. HAMILTON.

No. VIII. Referred to on p. 307.

Extracted from the "American Journal of Science and Arts" for July 1840, edited by Professor Silliman.

RESOLUTIONS OF CLASS AT NEW HAVEN.

At the conclusion of the last lecture, and after Mr Combe had taken leave and withdrawn, the audience was called to order by the Hon. Henry W. Edwards, late Governor of Connecticut.

The Hon. David Daggett, late Chief-Justice of the State, was called

to the chair, when the following resolutions were laid in by Governor Edwards, seconded by Professor Silliman, and carried by an unanimous vote. We trust that our readers will agree with us that it is not inappropriate to the object of a Journal of Science to record them with the remarks by which they were supported.

The Observations of Governor Edwards on introducing the Resolutions, were as follows:—

We have been listening with great interest and instruction, during a series of evenings,* to the lectures of Mr Combe on Phrenology, and his course is now finished. He has displayed much ability and great research on this subject, and whatever our opinions may finally be as to the correctness of the views he has presented, I think we shall readily admit, that he has acquitted himself fairly and fully in what he undertook. For one, I am ready to declare that he has accomplished all that I had anticipated. He has performed to my entire satisfaction his part of the engagement. If there be truth in Phrenology, the sooner we know it the better. The subject is of immense importance, and if we are still in doubt, we have been furnished with the means of ascertaining the truth.

Mr Combe is now about to leave us, and an expression of our approbation, in accordance with what has been done at other places where he has lectured, is, I think, due from us, and will probably be very gratifying to him. I hold in my hand some resolutions which will be submitted to the meeting, and will, it is presumed, be cheerfully concurred in by all present.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved,—That we have listened with great interest to the lectures of Mr Combe, on the physical, intellectual, and moral powers of man, and that, without claiming to express an opinion on Phrenology as a science, we have derived from his skilful analysis both instruction and gratification.

Resolved,—That our best wishes attend Mr Combe and his lady, for a safe return to their native land, and a happy reunion with their friends.

Resolved,—That Judge Daggett, Governor Edwards, Professor Silliman, General Kimberly, and Professor Olmsted, be a committee to present to Mr Combe a copy of the above resolutions.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., *March* 15. 1840.

The resolutions were communicated to Mr Combe with the letter, of which the following is a copy:—

TO MR GEORGE COMBE.

Dear Sir,—In compliance with the request of the gentlemen and ladies who have attended your course of lectures on Phrenology, we

* The course occupied thirteen evenings, each lecture being two hours long, with a brief intermission.

have the pleasure of presenting you with a copy of the resolutions adopted by them, and avail ourselves of the occasion to communicate the assurance of our high respect and esteem.

DAVID DAGGETT.
HENRY W. EDWARDS.
BENJAMIN SILLIMAN.
DENNIS KIMBERLY.
DENISON OLMSTED.

NEW HAVEN, *March* 15. 1840.

Professor Silliman, in seconding these resolutions, said, Mr Chairman, I have no claim to be called a phrenologist, for I have not studied the subject sufficiently to form an opinion upon the science *as a whole*, and it is not probable that my engagements will ever permit me to give it a thorough investigation. All I know of it is derived from the courses of lectures which I have heard, and of which this is the fourth; from observation of such facts as have come in my way; from credible attestations of its practical applications published in various works, and from personal communication with some of its cultivators. * * * It appears to me, sir, that Phrenology involves no absurdity, nor any antecedent improbability. The very word means the science or knowledge of the mind, which all admit to be a pursuit of the highest dignity and importance, both for this life and the life to come; and the appropriate inquiry of the phrenologist is, whether the mind, with its peculiar powers, affections, and propensities, is manifested by particular organs corresponding with the conformation of the cranium, that defensive armour by which the brain is protected from external injury. * * * Are we then expected seriously to assert, that which appears self-evident, that the seat of our mental operations, and of our affections and propensities, is in the brain? My consciousness informs me so, and this is the highest possible evidence to me, although *my* consciousness cannot be evidence to another person. * * * The residence of the mind being in the brain, it is not absurd or irrational to inquire whether it can be read in the form of the cranium as well as in the expression of the features. * * * Perhaps we may not be able to follow phrenologists in all their detailed divisions of the position of the faculties, affections, and propensities; but, after making all reasonable allowance for some possible errors in discrimination, and for some suggestions of the imagination, may we not still rely upon their ability to indicate, decidedly, the prevailing faculties and the ruling affections and propensities of far the greater number of individuals, in any assembly, either of pupils or convicts, or of people brought together by accident?—In yielding to our convictions on this subject, we should, however, exclude smatterers and pretenders, who, having only a superficial acquaintance with the subject, and perhaps no uncommon acumen in any case, examine heads to flatter self-esteem and gratify cupidity.—The subject is liable to abuse, and not all who claim to be phrenologists can be deserving of entire confidence;

but is not the same true of many other subjects, and especially of surgery? How large a proportion of surgeons should we be willing to employ in passing a knife among the nerves and arteries of our own bodies, or of those of our dear friends?—We are persuaded, then, that phrenology has its foundations laid in truth, and that its first principles, as regards the great regions of the head, are established upon the same ground as that which sustains all the physical sciences, namely, induction, indicating the correspondence of the phenomena with the theory. * * * This apologetic plea for Phrenology has been thrown in, not because we have made up our minds *to go for the whole*, but because we would strenuously maintain the liberty of free investigation. Philosophical is as sacred as civil and religious liberty, and all three are indispensable to the perfection of man's faculties, to the improvement of his condition, and to the just comprehension of his duties.

No. IX. Referred to on p. 318.

PRESENTATION OF A VASE TO MR COMBE.

"The exquisite vase, subscribed for by the class in attendance on Mr Combe's Phrenological Lectures in this city, was presented to the distinguished writer and lecturer, on Monday evening, 23d March 1840, at Howard's Hotel, in presence of the subscribers, by a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen:—Mr E. P. Hurlbut, Rev. T. J. Sawyer, Dr Foster, Dr Boardman, Mr S. W. Dewey, Mr E. C. Benedict. And, as this may be considered the termination of Mr Combe's lectures in the United States, we present our readers with the following accurate reports of the proceedings.

The Chairman of the Committee, Mr Hurlbut, thus addressed Mr Combe:—

"Sir,—The members of the class who attended your lectures, delivered in this city during the past year, have instructed us to present you with this vase, which, in their names, we now beg you to accept.

"It bears upon one side three medallic likenesses, exquisitely wrought—one of Gall, to whose great discoveries in nature we are indebted for the true science of mind,—one of Spurzheim, who first aided in illustrating and establishing it:—and the other of yourself their first and favourite British disciple.

"This high and just association will ever endure. He who founded, and they who first illustrated and advanced the true science of intellectual and moral philosophy, will descend the stream of time together, shedding lustre upon future ages, and living in the grateful memories of generations to come after us.

"Upon this vase are also presented other medallic likenesses;—one of Rush, whose far-seeing eye, penetrating the veil of nature, which Gall afterward lifted, had vision of some of the great truths

which he demonstrated;—and the other of Caldwell, who was the first among our countrymen to embrace and defend the doctrines of the great German, with boldness and vigour peculiarly his own.

"We feel a patriotic pride in associating the names of two of our own countrymen with the most distinguished names of Europe connected with mental science.

"You are soon to return to your native land—to your and our fathers' country.

"Your visit here has awakened the interest of thousands in your welfare—of thousands who are not wanting in gratitude for the instruction and delight which your discourses have afforded them—but who have had no opportunity to manifest, as we do on this most favoured occasion, their high appreciation of your character and attainments, and the enduring impression which your visit has made upon their minds. Their and our best wishes attend you.

"Receive, then, this vase—(the superscription upon which is also graven upon our hearts), and bear it to your home—a tribute to truth, and to the champion of truth; and rest assured, that, in our estimation, we could be called to perform no prouder office, than to render a just tribute of respect and admiration to the author of 'The Constitution of Man.'"

Mr Combe received the vase and spoke to the following effect.

"GENTLEMEN,—Although I cannot correctly say that I am unused to public speaking, yet, on occasions like the present, words fail me to express what I feel. I accept of your handsome and generous gift with the highest gratification. The classical elegance of form, the exquisite workmanship, and the appropriate devices which it bears, render it a gem of beauty. As a mere physical object, indeed, its merits in this respect have been appreciated in this city; it has gained the gold medal offered for the encouragement of art, and it will successfully sustain the strictest scrutiny of the distinguished artisans of the country to which I am about to carry it. But it is as a moral monument of your favourable estimation of my labours among you, and of the interest which you have taken in the science of mind, that it possesses to me an inestimable value. To Dr Gall alone belongs the glory of having discovered the functions of the brain. Dr Spurzheim generously devoted his whole life to the extension, improvement, and diffusion of this splendid product of Gall's originality and genius; and it is difficult to do justice to the noble sacrifice which he made to the cause of truth. When Dr Spurzheim became the disciple of Gall, no human being defended Phrenology except its author: and he not only stood alone, but encountered the hostility of civilized Europe, from the emperor to the peasant, a few high minded individuals only excepted, who were silenced by the hand of power if they rose superior to the influence of scorn. It is no slender honour to me that you associate me with such men. Mine has been a flowery path compared with theirs. It is true that, when still a young man, without name, fortune, high associations, or any external advantages to sustain me against public disapprobation, I fearlessly risked every prospect which the future held forth to my ambition, and became the defen-

der of Phrenology when it had few other friends in the British Isles. Professional ruin was prophesied as the inevitable consequence of this, as it was then styled, rash and inconsiderate step. But for the encouragement of the young and ardent worshippers of truth, I am enabled to say that these auguries never were realized. Many were the shafts of ridicule that were hurled against me, and bitter the taunts poured forth by a hostile press; but they never penetrated to my soul, disturbed my peace, or impeded my prosperity. I mention this not in the spirit of vain-glory, but to confirm the young in the assurance, that the path of truth and independence may be safely trodden even against a world in arms, if courage and perseverance be added to prudence in the advance.

"I have sojourned among you now for the greater part of two years, and I am about to leave your country. That I have experienced some inconveniences, and encountered several disagreeable incidents during my stay, is only what belongs to the lot of humanity; but these sink into insignificance when contrasted with the generous cordiality and enlightened sympathy which have been showered upon me by yourselves and your fellow citizens. I have held converse with many enlightened minds in this country; minds that do honour to human nature; whose philanthropy embraces not only patriotism, but an all prevailing interest in the advancement of the human race in knowledge, virtue, religion, and enjoyment in every clime. Many of these admirable men are deeply interested in phrenology. The gifted individual to whom Massachusetts owes an eternal debt of gratitude for his invaluable efforts in improving her educational establishments, has assured me that the new philosophy is a light in his path to which he attaches the highest value. You, sir, have shewn, in a late valuable work, that has issued from your pen, that you are penetrated to the core with this last and best of human sciences;* and many who now hear me have expressed similar testimonials to its worth. I return, therefore, highly gratified with much that I have experienced among you, and I shall not need this emblem of your respect to maintain the recollection of such men as I have described, engraven on my affections for ever.

"It is an additional gratification to me to see on this beautiful work of art the heads of two distinguished Americans, Dr Benjamin Rush, and Dr Charles Caldwell. The former has made the nearest approach of any modern author to Dr Gall's discovery, while the latter has manifested great zeal and high talents in its defence. Allow me to add one brief expression of admiration and gratitude to a young countryman of my own, Mr Michael Morrison from Edinburgh, whose exquisite skill chased these admirable ornaments on your gift. Among his first efforts in the art was a wax model which he executed of my head in Edinburgh. Several years ago he came to this country, was highly esteemed as a man and as an artist, and the embellishment

* Mr Combe here referred to a work recently published by Mr Hurlbut, "Civil Office and Political Ethics," the "ethics" of which are admirably adapted for the guidance of the people of the United States in the cause of true patriotism and virtue.

of this vase was almost the last act of his life. Ten days have scarcely elapsed since he was laid in a premature grave. It would have delighted me to have addressed to his living ear, the tribute which I now offer to his memory.

"Again, gentlemen, I assure you of my heartfelt gratitude and lasting respect, and with best wishes for your happiness and prosperity, bid you farewell."

The vase is of exquisite workmanship—being of Grecian model, with three medallic likenesses on one side—one of Gall, one of Spurzheim, and one of Combe, with the motto "res non verba quæso;" and two medallic likenesses on the other—one of Dr Benjamin Rush, and one of Dr Charles Caldwell, with the following inscription:—

"Presented
to
George Combe, of Edinburgh,
by the class in attendance upon
his lectures delivered in the
City of New York,
in 1839, on the subject of
Phrenology;
In testimony of their profound respect for the
distinguished Lecturer, and of their
belief in, and admiration of,
the noble science
of which he is the ablest living
teacher and expounder."

Round the base of the vase are chased the heads of several animals as emblematical of comparative Phrenology; and below them, are engraved the following words, "Mr James Thomson, manufacturer of this vase, received a gold medal from the American Institute, for its superior workmanship."

No. X. Referred to on p. 319.

EXTRACT FROM REPORT OF PHILADELPHIA, WILMINGTON, AND BALTIMORE RAILROAD.

In consequence of the absence of the engineer of the road in Europe, we are unable to give a detailed report of the manner of construction, and amounts of excavation, embankment, and bridging of the road. Some particulars relative to its character may not prove irrelevant; several kinds of rails have been adopted for different sections of the route, in all of which, strength, and consequent permanence, have been made essential requisites. The bridge-rail, weighing 40 lb. per yard; the T rail, weighing 55 lb. per yard; and the heavy bar rail, 1¾ inches in thickness, by 2½ inches in breadth, weighing 40 lb. per yard, are used throughout the whole, with the exception of a por-

tion of the route between Philadelphia and Wilmington, upon which the heavy plate bar has been laid.

The superstructure of the road consists in longitudinal sills, connected by cross ties of locust, red cedar, or seasoned white oak, and surmounted by longitudinal string pieces of Carolina heart pine, on which is laid the iron rail. Upon the greater part of the road, however, the strength of the iron bar is such as to render unnecessary the use of the longitudinal string piece, the bar being supported by the cross tie alone.

Between the city of Wilmington and the Susquehanna river, the roadway is graded thirty-five feet in width with superior bridging, all but one being built of the most substantial stone masonry and brick arches, making them secure from risk of fire. Upon other portions of the road, the surface width is twenty-five feet, having, throughout nearly the whole length of the line, a surface graded sufficiently wide for two tracks of railway. The whole distance was contracted for and finished, by different contractors, in various quantities of from five to ten miles in extent, and amounts from $10,000 to $60,000. The following are the average rates of prices paid for labour and material.

LABOUR.

Excavation, 12½ cents per cubic yard.
Embankment, 12½ do. do.
Rock blasting, 60 do. do.
Culvert masonry, $1.80 per perch, containing 25 cubic feet.
Bridge masonry, $3 per perch, containing 25 cubic feet.
Lattice bridging, $20 per linear foot.
King post bridging, $9 do.
Laying iron rails, 37½ cents per yard.

MATERIAL.

Hemlock sills, $12 per thousand feet.
Locust ties, 67 to 80 cents each.
Yellow pine string pieces, 6 inches by 6 inches, from $18 to $28 per thousand feet.
Stone for bridges, culverts, &c., 70 cents to $2.50 per perch.
Railroad bars, $70 per ton—costs, &c. included.
Cast iron chairs, 4½ cents per lb.
Spikes, 9 cents per lb.
Land damages, $250 per acre.
Fencing per pannel, $1 to $1.25.

These are the general charges for graduation and materials, collected and averaged from the contracts on file at the Company's office.

No. XI.—Referred to on p. 359.

NOTICE OF THE LAWS RELATIVE TO BANKS IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

When Mr Van Buren was governor of the State of New York, a gentleman by the name of Forman submitted to his consideration a plan for improving the paper currency of this State, which Mr V. B. slightly recommending, placed before the Legislature of the State. From this plan sprung a law, passed April 2. 1829, entitled "an act to create a fund for the benefit of the creditors of certain moneyed corporations, and for other purposes," commonly called "The Safety Fund Law."

By this law it was provided that every corporation having banking powers, thereafter to be created, or whose charter shall be renewed, should, on or before the 1st of January in every year, pay to the treasurer of this State a sum equal to half of one per cent. of the capital stock of the corporation paid in.

This payment is directed to be continued until each bank shall have paid into the treasury three per cent. upon its capital, which is to remain a perpetual fund called "The Bank Fund," and to be appropriated to the payment of such portion of the debts, exclusive of capital stock of any of the said corporations which shall become insolvent, as shall remain unpaid, after applying the property of the insolvent corporation to that purpose.

This fund is invested by the comptroller as a separate fund, and belongs to the banks contributing to it, in proportion to their contributions. The *income* from this fund, after paying the salaries of the bank commissioners, and some other expenses, is paid over to the banks in proportion to their contributions.

If this fund gets below three per cent. of the bank capital, as before mentioned, the banks must contribute and make it up.

Upon the happening of a bank's insolvency, the Court of Chancery directs a receiver to take charge of its effects, and to divide the property of the bank among its creditors; and the receiver is put in funds by the comptroller out of the "bank fund" to pay off the residue of the debts. If that fund is insufficient, the receiver awaits its being filled up by future contributions from "the Safety-Fund Banks."

This law also provides for the appointment of three "bank commissioners of the State of New York," whose duty it is to visit every four months all the banks subject to this safety fund law, and thoroughly to inspect their affairs,—to examine their books, debts, credits, amount of specie on hand, and to ascertain their means of fulfilling their engagements. They may examine any of the officers of the banks, or any other person on oath. And if from their examination, or in any way, it appears that any bank is insolvent, or has violated its charter in any respect, the commissioners immediately apply to the Court

of Chancery for an injunction against the bank and its officers, and its affairs are wound up.

These commissioners report annually to the Legislature. A copy of one of their reports (1837) accompanies this statement.

Under this system it seems between 90 and 100 banks have been created, or had their charters extended within this State. There is now a bank in almost every county, and some counties have several.

These are called "Safety Fund Banks." They are corporations, and I give a brief summary of the provisions of their charters.

Each bank is created by a Legislative act obtained on petition. The act defines the powers of the corporation, limits its existence to some twenty-five or thirty years, locates it, prescribes the amount of its capital stock, subjects it to the safety fund law bank commissioners' investigation, and prescribes the manner in which its capital stock shall be subscribed for, distributed, and paid in. The stock is apportioned among subscribers for it by commissioners appointed by the act of incorporation. The subscribers pay in the amount of their subscription in specie, or *current bank bills*, and the latter are always employed in payment. These bills are the issues of other safety fund banks, and thus the paper of one bank is the basis of another's issues.

These banks, when first incorporated, were authorized to circulate in their own bills twice and a half the amount of their capital actually paid in, but have been recently limited to one and a half that amount. This restriction, however, has been created since the suspension of specie payments in 1837.

The explosion just referred to grew out of the inflation of the paper currency by the safety fund banks of this State, and sister institutions of other States.

A country bank in this State having a capital of $200,000 would not have in its vaults in specie over $20,000 or 10 per cent. of the capital, which might not amount to 5 per cent. of their circulation.

After the explosion of 1837, came the new system of banking, by an act passed April 18. 1838, entitled "An act to authorize the business of banking."

Under this act institutions called "free banks" have been extensively organized.

I enclose a slip from a newspaper, containing some sound comments upon this new system of banking, from a gentleman of high intelligence in general, and of great experience as a banker.*

This "general banking law," as it is called, authorizes the comptroller of this State to have bills for circulation engraved in blank, in the similitude of bank notes of different denominations, which are countersigned, registered, and numbered in his office.

These bills can be procured by any person, or association of persons, who will organize as bankers under the law, file their state-

* The slip referred to, has been printed in the text, vol. iii. p. 357, title "Scarcity of Money."

ment and certificate, and pay over to the comptroller stock of the United States, or any of the States of the Union, which shall be equal to stock of this State producing 5 per cent. per annum, at such rate as he shall approve, not exceeding its par value, or by delivering to him bonds and mortgages upon real estate, bearing at least six per cent. interest.

The mortgages transferred must be upon improved, productive, and unencumbered lands within this State, worth, independent of any buildings thereon, at least double the amount for which they shall be mortgaged. The person or association assigning the bonds and mortgages, or paying in State stocks to the comptroller, may receive the interest to accrue thereon, unless default shall be made in paying the bills or notes of the banking concern, or unless, in the opinion of the comptroller, the mortgages, stocks, &c. so pledged are insufficient to pay the bills or notes.

The banking company, upon thus securing the comptroller, procure the bills, fill them up, and put them in circulation as money.

For fuller details on this subject, see pp. 357-8-9.

No. XII.—Referred to on p. 422.

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Denominations.	Churches or Congregations.	Ministers.	Members or Communicants.	Population.
Baptists	6319	4239	452,000	
" Freewill	753	612	33,876	4,300,000
" Seventh-Day	42	46	4,503	
" Six-Principle	16	10	2,117	
Catholics	418	478	...	800,000
Christians	1000	800	150,000	300,000
Congregationalists	1300	1150	160,000	1,400,000
Disciples of Christ (Campbellites)	...	...	...	...
Dutch Reformed	197	192	22,515	450,000
Episcopalians	950	849	...	600,000
Friends	500	...	...	100,000
German Reformed	600	180	30,000	...
Jews	...	...	...	15,000
Lutherans	750	267	62,266	540,000
Mennonites	200	...	30,000	...
Methodists	...	3106	686,549	3,000,000
" Protestant	...	400	50,000	
Moravians, or United Brethren	24	33	5,745	12,000
Mormonites	...	...	12,000	12,000
New Jerusalem Church	27	33	...	5,000
Presbyterians	2807	2225	274,084	
" Cumberland	500	450	50,000	
" Associate	183	87	16,000	2,175,000
" Reformed	40	20	3,000	
" Associate Reformed	214	116	12,000	
Shakers	15	45	6,000	6,000
Tunkers	40	40	3,000	30,000
Unitarians	200	174	...	180,000
Universalists	653	317	...	600,000

"The above statements of the number of churches, ministers, and members of the several denominations, have been derived chiefly from recent official documents published by the different denominations; but the last column contains rather a vague estimate which has appeared in various publications of the total number of people who are attached to, or shew a preference for, the several different religious persuasions."—*American Almanac*, 1841, p. 157.

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